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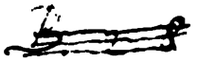

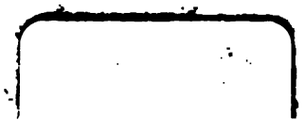

AN

HISTORICAL GENEALOGY

OF THE

ROYAL HOUSE

OF

STUARTS,

FROM THE

REIGN OF K. ROBERT II. TO THAT OF K. JAMES VI.

TAKEN FROM THE MOST AUTHENTIC AUTHORS,

BOTH SCOTCH AND ENGLISH.

BY THE

REV. MARK NOBLE, F.A.S. of L. and E.

RECTOR OF BARMING IN KENT,

AND

DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN TO THE EARL OF LEICESTER.

LONDON:

Printed for R. FAULDER, No. 42, NEW BOND STREET.

1795.

OXFORD ARCHITECTURAL
AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE

JOHN, EARL OF GALLOWAY,

Knight of the moſt ancient Order of the Thiſtle, &c.

DESCENDED FROM A BRANCH OF THE ROYAL HOUSE OF

STUART,

THIS VOLUME IS,

BY PERMISSION,

MOST RESPECTFULLY

AND

MOST GRATEFULLY

DEDICATED.

PREFACE.

THERE is nothing more difficult to be underſtood than the Hiſtory of Scotland, owing to the vague manner in which writers ſpeak of the different branches of the Royal Family of that kingdom; few dates, too, are given, and thoſe generally erroneous. The Reader, therefore, it is preſumed, will not think the Author has miſpent ſome of his leiſure hours in drawing up a Genealogy of the Stuarts from the reign of K. Robert II. to the union of the Britiſh crowns—a period important not only to the Scotch, but alſo to the Engliſh.

BARMING PARSONAGE,
Sept. 10, 1795.

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III. He was = Margaret, daughter and ſole heir of Sir John Bonkil, of Bonkil, Knight.

winton, which ſervices; anway. | Sir John Stewart, of Jedburgh, from whom ſeveral families deſcend. | Sir James Stewart, of Preſton. | Tho. Randulph, = Iſabel. Earl of Murray.

hter and ſole heir of Sir Will. Garlſton, Knt. and relict of Hamilton, of Cadzow.

tewart, anceſtor of Barcope. | James. | Sir Tho. Somerville, Knt. = Janet. of Carnwarth.

into England, in 1358, with = Eliza, 2d daughter, and one of the three coheirs
-acknowledged merit, he was of Sir Duncan, 5th Earl of Lenox, put to death
of Buchan, and created Lord in 1426, and ſiſter of Iſabel, wife of Murdoch,
Duke of Albany.

= Beatrix d'Apchor. Matthew Stewart of Caſtleton.

r Stewart, of Galeſtor of Frederic created in 1609 tenween, but he male iſſue, the ne extinct. | Bernard, Lord d'Aubigny, = Wilhelmina de Boucard. "the father of chivalry," Knt. of St. Michael, Marſhal of France, and viceroy of Naples. He was in K. Henry VII's army in the battle of Boſworth.

ii- = Eliz. ad of rle. | Robert, Lord = Marian. Crichton, of Sanquhar, anceſtor of the Earls of Dumfries. | Ninien, Lord Roſs. = Janet. | Sir John = Marg. Colquhoun, of Saſs. | Rt. Stewart, = Ann. Count of Beaumont-le-Roger. | Phil. Brague, = J L. D. Luc.

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ted Duke of Lenox in May 26, 1583. = Catherine, daughter of Will. Seigneur d'Antrague.

HISTORICAL GENEALOGY

OF THE

ROYAL FAMILY

OF

STUART,

UNTIL THEY SUCCEEDED TO THE CROWN OF ENGLAND.

PART I.

SECT. I.

Origin of the Stuarts.

THE regal honors have deſcended by females to the families of noblemen, not only in Scotland, but England; the Baliols, the Bruces, and the Stuarts have ſat upon the Scottiſh throne; but it is peculiarly extraordinary, that they ſhould, after giving many ſovereigns to Scotland, when reduced to a ſingle female in the eldeſt branch, by her marriage with a prince of another ſtem of the ſame family, prolong the royal dignity in that houſe, and by marrying a daughter of King Henry VII., unite all the Britiſh crowns. In ſpeaking of this genealogy, I ſhall only mention enough of it, to convey an idea of their rank and worth, prior to the time they became illuſtrious as potentates.

PART I. SECT. I.

Origin of the Stuarts.

There is not any noble family in this iſland, nor, perhaps, in Europe, that can be traced higher than the eleventh century, owing to the unlettered ages preceding that period, and the rudeneſs and conſtant revolutions that happened both in kingdoms and families: but the perfecting of the feudal ſyſtem, and the offices of grand ſergeancy, made hereditary poſſeſſions ſo ſtrict, that the genealogy of every conſiderable family became in time to be particularly attended to, as ſo much depended upon its accuracy. To the commencement then of hereditary fiefs in Scotland, may the hiſtory of the Stuarts be carried, but no higher with the leaſt certainty. Some have deduced them from the royal ſtock; others ſay that they were only by a female allied to it; but all this is only conjecture, and unworthy the memorialiſt. That they were preceding the eleventh century of conſiderable conſequence both in rank and poſſeſſions, there can be no doubt; but even the names of the anceſtors of Banquo, with whom theſe pages commence, are, and ever will be, unknown.

Banquo, Thane of Lochaber.

Banquo, the univerſally allowed anceſtor of this family, was Thane of Lochaber, and was one of thoſe who made the moſt conſpicuous figure in the courts of Duncan and the uſurper Macbeth. His valiant arm more than once defended his country from a foreign foe; but probably his popularity was what brought on his ruin. The tyrant feared one to whom he had, in a great meaſure, owed his elevation; and this determined him to deſtroy his former friend, and not from that prediction which after ages have invented to flatter royalty*. To prevent his ſons revenging their father's death, they were included in the proſcription. After an entertainment given in a dark night, the parent and his ſons were ſurpriſed by Macbeth's emiſſaries: Banquo with the three eldeſt fell: their names were Malcolm,

* It is pretended that, as Macbeth and Banquo were together, three witches foretold to them, that the former ſhould be King, but his children ſhould not inherit the crown, which would deſcend to the poſterity of Banquo.

Ferguhard, and Kenneth; but Fleance, the youngeſt, eſcaped. The Thane's two daughters, Beatrix and Caſtiſa, were given in marriage to Macduff, Thane of Fife, and Frederic, the anceſtor of the Urquharts.

Fleance.

Fleance immediately fled into Cumberland to the court of Malcolm, ſurnamed Canmore, ſon of the late king; but judging himſelf not ſafe there, or that prince not daring to afford him an aſylum, he retired to that of Griffith ap Llewellin, Prince of North Wales, where he was received as his misfortunes deſerved: ſtruck with the beauty of Neſta, a daughter of that ſovereign, he won her affection, and prevailed upon her to give him her hand without her father's conſent; but whilſt he flattered himſelf with the fairneſs of his proſpects, the great favours beſtowed upon a ſtranger procured him ſo many enemies, that he fell a victim to their jealouſy, in the twenty-fifth year of his age, in 1045, ſurviving his father only two years. By Neſta he had Walter, and a poſthumous daughter, Fleancha, profeſſed a nun in the ſame monaſtery with her mother.

Walter, firſt hereditary high Steward of Scotland.

Walter, the only ſon of Fleance, was no ſooner grown to manhood, than he determined to revenge his father's murder: the great ſeldom, at that period, appealed to the laws; he therefore put to death Owen, the ſuppoſed culprit; but as this perſon had powerful friends, he judged it prudent to retire from their vengeance; eſpecially when he could no longer be protected by Prince Griffith, his maternal grandfather, who died by violence in 1064. Leaving Wales, he came to the Engliſh court, but here he acted with the ſame paſſion as he had in Wales, though it had been ſo injurious to him; for, upon a quarrel between him and Oddo, a favourite retainer of the great Earl Harold, (who afterwards aſcended the throne) he aſſaſſinated him alſo; not even the power of King Edward could have ſhielded him from the vengeance of Harold, he therefore was again obliged to ſeek his ſafety by flight: he now put himſelf under the

PART I. SECT. I.

care of Alan the Red, Duke of Brittany, a relation of the princeſs his mother. Alan received him not only with favour, but placed much confidence in him: he committed a part of his forces to his care when he accompanied William, Duke of Normandy, into England, to attack Harold, whom he now beheld with the eye of an inveterate enemy. The battle of Haſtings conveyed the crown from his head to that of William, who treated Walter with peculiar regard, until he diſcovered that he favoured the intereſt of Edgar Atheling, the heir of the Anglo-Saxon Kings; and as he was not truſted in England, but looked upon, on this account, with jealouſy, he determined to quit the eſtabliſhment he had gained, and go to Scotland, whither his anceſtors had been amongſt her firſt ſubjects, and where he now thought he ſhould be peculiarly welcome; as well, becauſe of the misfortunes his family had ſuffered from the tyrant Macbeth, as his having eſpouſed the cauſe of Edgar, whoſe ſiſter Margaret was become the Queen of Malcolm, to which monarch he was perſonally known, and who received into his dominions all the Engliſh who forſook their country at the Norman conqueſt; ſo that it might be ſaid that the north part of the iſland was repleniſhed with the inhabitants of the ſouth, and many of them of the higheſt rank and moſt exalted worth: and not only did the Engliſh find an aſylum at the court of this ſovereign, but alſo the illuſtrious Hungarians that attended Queen Margaret. Malcolm ſeemed ſent by Providence to afford protection to the diſtreſſed of various nations. The deſcendants of theſe exiles are amongſt the higheſt of the Scotch nobility; by ſuch a prince Walter would be kindly welcomed, not only from commiſeration, but gratitude, which his ſervices to Edgar demanded; and Macduff, the huſband of his aunt, was high in the royal favour from having effected the reſtoration of Malcolm to the throne of his anceſtors. No wonder then that Scotland was the place in which he choſe finally to reſide; no wonder that his reception was ſuch as he experienced. Lochaber, the patrimony of his anceſtors, was probably in hands from which

it might not be prudent to wreſt it, but in lieu of it he received a grant of Kyle and Strathgrief; and his ſervices were ſo meritorious to the ſtate that he obtained alſo the iſle of Bute and the land of Cowal in the county of Argyle, and was raiſed by Malcolm to the high office of Steward of Scotland, who made it hereditary in his family; a poſt of great honor, as well as of power and emolument. His death happened in 1093, leaving by Chriſtian, daughter of Alan the Red, Duke of Brittany, ſix ſons and three daughters. Alan, the ſecond high Steward, of whom below; William, Edgar, Malcolm, Fleanch, and Walter, of whom hiſtorians are ſilent, except giving us their baptiſmal names: Margaret, married to Simon, anceſtor of the Fraſers; Emma, to Griffin, a perſon of great conſequence in South Wales; and Helen, to Alexander, anceſtor of the Abernethys.

Alan, ſecond high Steward, went in his father's life-time to Paleſtine with Godfrey, of Boulogne, where in ſeveral campaigns he obtained great fame, and returned into Scotland in the reign of King Edgar with great reputation and many trophies of his valour. This with his deſcent from the princely houſes of North Wales and Brittany would procure him, we may ſuppoſe, the greateſt ſway in the palaces of the ſovereigns he was cotemporary with; he is ſuppoſed to have died in 1153: there are three charters extant dated towards the end of the reign of King David I., to which he was a witneſs, and all of them give his name with the addition of "Dapifer." By Margaret, daughter of Fergus, Lord of Galloway, he had three ſons; Walter, the ſucceſſor to his honors; Adam and Simon, who in the chartulary of Paiſley is called frater to Walter, and filius Alani Dapiferi; whoſe ſon Robert is generally allowed to be the anceſtor of the Boyds, Earls of Kilmarnock, as this Robert is ſtiled nepos in that regiſter to Walter.

Alan, ſecond High Steward of Scotland.

Walter the third High Steward ſucceeded to his father in his honors and poſſeſſions, in the ſame year that Malcolm IV., aſcended

Walter, the third High Steward of Scotland.

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the throne; in the charters paſſed early in that reign he is called "filius Alani Dapifer meus;" his proweſs was conſpicuous, as the annals of Scotland can witneſs, for he not only defended his own barony of Renfrew, of which Kyle and Strathgrief were parts; but the whole kingdom, againſt the daring attempts, and treaſonable practices of Sumerled, who returning from Ireland, whither he had been obliged to fly, landed with a body of deſperate followers, who were defeated by him, and their leader either killed in the engagement or publicly executed, for authors are not agreed as to that fact. For theſe, and other important ſervices his ſovereign King Malcolm IV., confirmed his predeceſſor David's grant to him of the hereditary office of High Steward of Scotland, and of thoſe ample poſſeſſions the preceding monarchs had beſtowed upon his anceſtors. In imitation of King David I., he was ſingularly liberal to the Monkiſh order, in founding and endowing the magnificent abbey of Paiſley, and beſtowing much upon the monaſteries of Dumferling, Kelſo, Aberbroth, Couper, Melrop, and others, in which he ordered maſſes for the repoſe of the ſouls of himſelf, and thoſe of his family; and to ſhew his earneſt attachment to the ſovereigns of Scotland, their's were alſo, together with their iſſue, included in his pious remembrances. He died in 1177, during the reign of King William I. leaving by his wife, Eſeluira, two ſons and a daughter.

Alan, the fourth High Steward of Scotland.

Alan the eldeſt ſon of the former, became the fourth High Steward of Scotland; characteriſtic of the manners of the age he lived in, he devoted his life to arms, and to what was then ſuppoſed the cauſe of the chriſtian religion, attending the forces collected, and led into Paleſtine by Philip, and Richard, Kings of France and England; David, Earl of Huntingdon; and Gariock, youngeſt brother of Malcolm IV. and William I. Kings of Scotland; with theſe illuſtrious perſonages he remained until the ſurrender of Ptolemais to the cruſaders. Upon his return to his native country, he ſhewed equal bravery in attacking and defeating the rebels of Moravia, whoſe general Roderic, he is ſaid to have ſlain with his own hand, in a bloody engagement fought near Inverneſs. This martial cha-

racter deceaſed in 1204, alſo in the reign of King William I.: he married Aleſta, daughter of Morgunda, Earl of Mar, by whom he had,

Walter, fifth High Steward, generally called of Dondonald, from making that his uſual reſidence; his father was conſtantly ſtiled Dapifer Regis Scotorum, as were his anceſtors; but he changed it into Seneſcallus Domini Regis Scotiæ; whence came the ſurname of Stewart, Stuart, or Steward; in the ſame manner as we have Boteler, and Chamberlain, which, like the former, have given ſurnames to noble families, who bore in the Engliſh court thoſe offices hereditarily; and, from this time, Steward became the family name of this houſe in all its branches, with one exception, though with ſome variation in the orthography, the royal family having for many years ſpelt it Stuart. This nobleman excelled both as a ſtateſman and a general; he negotiated the marriage of his ſovereign King Alexander II. with Mary his laſt Queen, going over into France to effect it; and his conduct was ſo well approved of, that he was appointed in the ſixteenth year of this reign Lord Juſticiary of Scotland; ſo that in that, and the capacity of Steward, he muſt have had a prodigious ſway in the kingdom; nor did he deſerve it leſs as a commander, for he was the moſt conſpicuous of thoſe who fought under the royal banners in quelling the inſurrection of Thomas Mac-Doulan, and his aſſociate Gildroth; the former of whom laying claim to Galloway, though only the illegitimate ſon of the late Earl, came with great forces from Man, Olave, the king of that iſland, having given him his daughter in marriage; and being joined by the people of Galloway, the greateſt danger was threatened, until he was brought to the moſt abject ſubmiſſion; but ſome time after, returning with many forces collected in Ireland, Walter was conſtituted general againſt him, and he compelled him a ſecond time to accept the royal clemency. He was equally munificent with his father in his charities to the Monks; and in his piety towards his anceſtors, in eſtabliſhing maſſes for the repoſe of their ſouls; but in theſe his ſovereign King William, his progenitors

Walter, the fifth High Steward of Scotland.

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and relations, were always included; evincing by it, his conſtant and ſteady attachment to his Prince, and the kingly office, little expecting how ſoon his own progeny ſhould be ſeated upon their throne. His death happened in the year 1241, at which time he was in poſſeſſion of the great offices of High Steward and Juſticiary. By eſpouſing Beatrix, daughter of Gilchriſt, the heroic Earl of Angus, he allied himſelf to the crown; for her mother was Marjory, daughter of Henry, Prince of Scotland, and ſiſter of King Malcolm IV. and King William I. The iſſue of this marriage was four ſons and three daughters; Alexander, who ſucceeded to the hereditary honors and eſtates; John, who became a Knight of St. John of Jeruſalem, and who fell in battle fighting againſt the infidels, either in Egypt or ſome other part of Africa. Walter, who in right of the lady his wife obtained the earldom of Monteith, which was allowed to him at Scoon in 1285, and appointed one of the auditors of the two competitors for the crown of Scotland in 1291; he certainly was the friend of the Brucian intereſt, which he continued to eſpouſe after King Edward I. of England had obtained the reſignation of King John, juſtly preferring the independence of the kingdom to all the emoluments that potent ſovereign could have beſtowed upon him; but this ſo exaſperated that ſanguinary Prince, that though he was ſeventy-five years of age when he fell into his hands at the battle of Dunbar, fought in 1296, yet he condemned him to die as a traitor, which dreadful ſentence he underwent; his deſcendants, according to the Scotch cuſtom, took the ſurname of Monteith, his wife being an heireſs; the earldom continued in the family until the middle of the fourteenth century, when from failure of male iſſue, it paſſed into that of the Grahams'. The fourth ſon of Walter was named William; the daughters were Beatrix, Chriſtian, and Margaret, who were married according to the greatneſs of their birth.

Alexander, the ſixth High Steward of Scotland.

Alexander, ſixth High Steward of Scotland, was one of the greateſt characters that either his own family, or Scotland has produced; he received his education in the palace of King Alexander II. in the firſt year of whoſe reign he was born; the former

part of his life is unknown, influenced by the prevailing opinion of the age, and which his relations ſeem warmly to have cheriſhed, he, in 1248, embarked for the Holy Land, under the ſtandard of St. Lewis, King of France, together with his brother, and other illuſtrious Scotchmen; his valor and prudence were ſo great, that upon the death of the Earl of Dunbar, he was placed at the head of his countrymen as their commander; but previous to his embarking in this, then ſuppoſed pious, expedition, he confirmed the charters which his anceſtors had given to the monaſtery of Paiſley, obliging alſo his deſcendants to do the ſame under penalty of eternal damnation, in caſe he never returned; which he did in or before 1255, for in that year he was of the council to King Alexander III. and was greatly inſtrumental in releaſing the perſons of his ſovereigns out of the hands of the Cummins who had ſeized them, and governed the kingdom, in the name indeed of the King, but intirely by their own authority. There could not be a greater inſtance of confidence placed in another, than was in this noblemen by his ſovereign; for when King Alexander III. was in England with Margaret his Queen, it was ſtipulated that if he died, and her Majeſty was brought to bed of a living child, the infant ſhould be given by King Henry III. and his brother Richard, King of the Romans, to his care, that the nation might ſee their future ſovereign placed in the ſafeſt hands; but as the King returned home, he was not called upon to fulfil ſo important a truſt; his conduct at Largis in 1263, proved that he was deſerving of this pre-eminent diſtinction, for commanding the right wing of the royal army, in the battle fought againſt Acho, King of Norway, who had invaded Scotland with 20,000 men; by his united valor and prudence having releaſed his ſovereign, he aſſiſted him in defeating and purſuing the flying invader, not only to the extremity of the kingdom, but to the weſtern iſlands, and to Man, whither the Norwegians had retired, and by ſo doing he put an end to the depredations of that more northern nation, which had often involved Scotland in the utmoſt danger. In recompence for ſuch important ſervices, he received, November the 30th in that year, the barony of Garleys in the Stew-

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artry of Kircudbright. He was amongſt the other great men of the nation who were proxies in 1281, relative to the articles of marriage between Margaret, the heireſs of the kingdom, and the Prince of Norway; he ſurvived that alliance only two years, dying in 1283, having lived more than ſixty-nine years. In imitation of the example of his anceſtors he was liberal to the abbey of Paiſley, as alſo to the canons of Dryburgh, and ſome other monaſteries. He married Jean, daughter and heireſs of James, or Anguſtnac Roric, Lord of the Iſle of Bute, ſuppoſed to have been deſcended from a common anceſtor: their iſſue was two ſons and a daughter; James, High Steward; John, who by Margaret, daughter and heireſs of Sir John de Bonkil, was progenitor of the Darnley or Lenox branch of the Stuarts, one of whom was the well-known Henry Lord Darnley, who married Mary Queen of Scotland; and Elizabeth, married to Sir William Douglas, ſurnamed the Hardy.

James, ſeventh High Steward of Scotland.

James, the ſeventh High Steward of Scotland, is ſuppoſed to have been born in 1243, and that he attended St. Lewis of France in 1270, with other noblemen of Scotland, into Paleſtine. It is thought he did not wiſh for the crown to deſcend to the Princeſs Margaret of Norway; yet he recognized her title in caſe King Alexander III. died without leaving a male heir; upon the death of that monarch, he was one of the ſix Peers who were appointed guardians of the realm; but when factions divided the kingdom, he with his brothers and uncles, Walter, Earl of Monteith, John and Alexander, with various perſons of the Bruce family, and others, the firſt characters of that time, united together with the Earls of Clare and Ulſter to withſtand all who oppoſed their intereſt, except the perſon who ſhould be adjudged their ſovereign, and the two latter, ſaving their allegiance to King Edward I. of England; this bond bears date at Turneburie in Carric, September 20th, 1286. In the competition for the crown between the contenders Baliol and Bruce, which was the conſequence of the Princeſs's death, he declared in favor of the latter, and courageouſly pleaded in behalf of Bruce before King Edward I. when at Berwic in 1292; but

finding the crown adjudged to King John, of the family of Baliol, he acquieſced in the determination, and accepted of the government of Roxburgh Caſtle; true to that cauſe, he refuſed to ſurrender it, either to the King of England or Bruce when he was ſummoned by each in 1296; the loyalty he ſhewed does honor to his character; but when he perceived that John had become only a nominal ſovereign, he again united with thoſe firm friends to the ſtate, who had, like him, been obliged to relinquiſh their party; for in the following year he, with the gallant Sir William Wallace, ſtrove to free Scotland from a foreign yoke; but, like them, was obliged to ſubmit to the all-powerful ſword of Edward; though he had been conſtrained to it in 1298, he permitted his brother Sir John Stuart to unite with Wallace at the battle of Falkirk, where he fell; and in 1302, he was one of the commiſſioners appointed to go to France, to aſk aſſiſtance to protect the Scotch againſt England; and there can be little doubt but that he firmly adhered to the cauſe and perſon of King Robert, whom he lived to ſee acknowledged as ſovereign by the greateſt part of the kingdom, as appears by a letter ſigned by him, and many others of the firſt conſequence in the nation, and ſent by them to the French monarch in 1309; dying July the 16th following, his corpſe was buried in the abbey of Paiſley, before the high altar. By the daughter of Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, who exchanged the title for that of March, he had iſſue three ſons and a daughter; Walter, John, ſlain in the battle of Dundalk in Ireland, fought in 1318; James, anceſtor of the Stewarts of Roſſyth in Fife; and Egidea, who married to Alexander Menzies; King Robert I. gave them a charter for the barony of Duriſdale.

Walter, eighth High Steward of Scotland.

Walter, the eighth hereditary High Steward, was born in 1293; he was knighted in the royal camp at Bannockburn, whither he brought a conſiderable body of forces, and was honored with the command of the fourth battalion in the army that was led forth againſt King Edward II. where the bravery and experience of the Scottiſh monarch ſo eminently prevailed againſt the raſh and puſilla-

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nimous conduct of the Engliſh ſovereign; nor was the judgment of this nobleman leſs conſpicuous in detecting the falſeneſs of ſome of his countrymen, who were in the intereſt of England, though they bore arms againſt the people of that nation. The victory gave ſtability to the government, and was productive of the higheſt advantages to this illuſtrious character; for amongſt the great perſonages that were releaſed from confinement, and ſent into Scotland in conſequence of a ſubſequent treaty of peace between the contending powers, was Marjory, the daughter and only child of King Robert I. This Princeſs, with the others, was conducted to the borders, where ſhe was received and brought by him to her royal parent at Sterling, attended by many of the youthful nobles and gentry; attached to each other, he aſked and obtained the hand of Marjory with the conſent of the King, and the approbation of the parliament; their nuptials were celebrated with a pomp and ſplendour equal to the dignity of the parties; Scotland did not offer a better alliance than himſelf, nor probably a ſuperior in merit; to his family it procured the crown which remained with them for ſo many generations; to himſelf it muſt have brought the greateſt acceſſion of conſequence, as by it he was ſo nearly allied to the ſovereign upon the throne, who augmented his patrimony by very liberal grants of lands and baronies: his conduct evinced that he deſerved all the many honors conferred upon him; for he moſt heroically defended Berwic, of which he was governor, againſt a gallant army ſent by the Engliſh court to attack it, who uſed every effort that valor and prudence could dictate, but in vain: and in a ſubſequent war, he behaved with ſo much ſpirit, that not content with defeating, he purſued the royal fugitive to York, with a body of 500 horſe only, and was ſo near taking him, that he came to that city as the King entered the gates, braving him by killing ſeveral of his attendants, and inſulting the citizens. His behaviour was ſo conſtantly meritorious, that he was very dear, both to the King his father-in-law, and to the nation in general, who lamented his early death, which happened April 9th, 1327, at his reſidence of Bathcate, in Lothian, when only in the thirty-ſeventh year of his age:

his remains were buried at Paiſley. He married thrice, firſt, Alice, daughter of Sir John Erſkine, of Erſkine, Knight, by whom he had an only child, Jean, who became the ſecond wife of Hugh, Earl of Roſs; whoſe ſon William, Earl of Roſs, is called, on different accounts, nephew and brother-in-law to King Robert II. The ſecond wife of Walter was Marjory, ſole child of the firſt marriage of King Robert I. upon which Princeſs the crown was limited by many acts of Parliament, paſſed in the reign of her father, if her half brother, Prince David, (who afterwards aſcended the throne) ſhould die iſſueleſs. As this lady, on Shrove-Tueſday in 1316, was returning from Paiſley to the caſtle of Renfrew, the principal ſeat of her huſband, ſhe fell from her horſe, and diſlocating her neck, died immediately; but as the infant ſhe was then pregnant of was perceived to be alive, the Cæſarian operation was performed, and the male child taken from her received no other injury than having a blemiſh in his eye; from which circumſtance the people gave him the name of the Blear-eyed. He became King of Scotland, by the name of Robert II.; and what is extraordinary, this Princeſs is remembered ſtill in Scotland by the name of "Queen Bleary," though ſhe never was a Queen, and the croſs erected upon the ſpot where ſhe fell, is called "Queen Bleary's:" the body of this Princeſs was buried at Paiſley, where her monument ſtill remains, upon which lie her effigies in a recumbent poſture, the hands cloſed in the attitude of prayer: above it was a rich arch with ſculptures of arms and other ſuitable devices *. The third wife

* The chapel at Paiſley, where the Princeſs Marjory was buried, is ſtill remaining; a circumſtance uncommon when the lawleſs violence of the Scotch reformers under Knox is recollected: it is the greateſt curioſity in the town in which it ſtands; for when the door, the only one it has, is ſhut, the noiſe is equal to a loud, and not very diſtant, clap of thunder; if a ſingle note of muſic is ſtruck, the ſound gradually aſcends, until it dies away in the air, as if at a vaſt diſtance, diffuſing itſelf the whole time in the circumambient air; and if a good voice ſings, or a muſical inſtrument is well played upon, the effect is inexpreſſibly agreeable. This chapel is now the burial place of the Earl of Abercorn's family; but it has no pulpit nor pews, nor any other ornament whatever of that kind within it.

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of this High Steward was Iſabel, daughter of the gallant Sir John Graham of Abercorn, by whom he had Sir John Steward, whom King Robert II. ſtiles brother in ſeveral of his charter; and Egidia, who married three huſbands; Sir James Lindſay of Glenesk, Sir Hugh Eglinton of Ardroſſan, and Sir James Douglas of Dalkeith.

PART II.

SECT. I.

PART II. SECT. I. King Robert II.

KING Robert II. the only child of Walter, the eighth High Steward of Scotland by the Princeſs Marjory, daughter of King Robert I. never experienced the care of one of his parents, and before he arrived at the age of twelve years he loſt his father, and ſoon after was deprived of the guardianſhip of his royal grandfather, King Robert I. ſo that his youth ſeemed to be marked with unuſual diſaſters, eſpecially as King David II. his uncle, from his minority was unable to either inſpect his education, or to give him that conſequence in his court that his nearneſs of blood demanded; for David, though the half-brother of the Princeſs his mother, was but a very few years older than himſelf; but Edward, the eldeſt ſon of John Baliol, renewing his claim to the crown, and his cauſe having been eſpouſed by England, and by many of the Scotch nation, his hopes of ever ſucceeding, even if David left no iſſue, were very doubtful; he however endeavoured to deſerve the ſucceſſion by his gallant behaviour in defending the crown againſt the attempts of Baliol, as ſoon as it was poſſible for him to appear in arms, for he commanded the ſecond battalion of the royal army at the battle of Halidon-hill fought in 1333, when his age did not exceed ſeventeen years, and which gave his enemies ſo decided a triumph by the victory they obtained, that the Scotch nation ſeemed to have abandoned the cauſe of the Brucian family, and to be diſpoſed to receive and acknowledge the Baliol claim, as thinking it impoſſible to withſtand the united forces of the heir of King John, and of the brave and puiſſant Edward III. of England his ally:

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even David ſeemed to deſert his throne, to make room for his adverſary, by retiring into France; but Robert, who had eſcaped by a boat to Dunbarton Caſtle, exerted all that youthful ardor which the greatneſs of the occaſion deſerved, and the neceſſity of the times demanded; aſſiſted by Sir Malcolm Fleming, then his guardian, and Sir Colin Campbell, anceſtor of the Dukes of Argyle, he put himſelf at the head of a body of highlanders, and ruſhing down upon the ſouthern and weſtern counties, recovered not only his own great patrimonial eſtates, but the chief places in thoſe parts of the kingdom; ſo acceptable a ſervice performed in ſo critical a moment procured him the higheſt poſt of honour that could be beſtowed, for he was appointed jointly with the Earl of Murry guardian of the kingdom, until his ſovereign ſhould return; but unhappily in the following year, whilſt King Edward invaded his country with a powerful army, drawn from his own dominions, and the Netherlands, he was confined by illneſs; ſo that he had the mortification to ſee that potent monarch victorious; to know that his coadjutor was fallen into his hands, and that many of the Scotch had declared for the Engliſh; judge how mortified he muſt be, as well as exaſperated, when he diſcovered that theſe traitors pretended to have done this, not only by his permiſſion, but under a commiſſion expreſsly given by him for that purpoſe *. The odium they meditated, however fell only upon themſelves, the Scotch ſtill honouring him with their confidence, kept him in his high office of guardian, but united with him in it, Sir Andrew Murray of Bothwel; and upon Sir Andrew's death in 1338, notwithſtanding that he was then a very young man, he was declared ſole governor of the kingdom; which high and important office he held until the year 1342, when his ſovereign King David returned from France, and

* The High Steward's name is ſigned to a treaty with King Edward III. and Edward Baliol with others, promiſing ſubmiſſion and fealty; but it is generally believed a forgery to ſecond the views of the Engliſh monarch, and Baliol the tool of that great Prince's ambition. Had he acted ſo contrary to reaſon, and his own intereſt, it is ſcarce to be ſuppoſed that his countrymen would have placed any, eſpecially ſuch great, confidence in him.

took the reigns of government again into his own hands. It is confeſſed that from ſome diſlike he had to Lord Murray, he did not take ſo active a part as had been expected from his youth and valor; but illneſs partly excuſes him, whatever his conduct then was. When he obtained the ſole guardianſhip of the nation, he behaved with ſo much prudence, diſcretion, and activity, that the return of David was intirely owing to him; for though in 1338, he ſuffered a defeat from the Engliſh general, Sir Thomas Berkeley, and narrowly eſcaped falling into his power, yet aſſembling a ſuitable force in the following year, he retook the Caſtle of Perth, one of the moſt important places in Scotland; in 1340, he regained Edinburgh Caſtle, and in 1341, that of Sterling; he gave the poſſeſſor the command of the Lowlands, and the Highlands were always ſecure againſt the Engliſh intereſt, ſo that David was enabled by theſe ſucceſſes to ſit again in the throne of his anceſtors, and this owing to the proweſs and activity of Robert; if his duty therefore had at any time ſlumbered, his ſubſequent conduct fully excuſed him, and he was the firſt of the Scottiſh ſubjects who took an oath of fidelity to David when he arrived, meeting him at Perth. He accompanied that monarch in his expedition into England, commanding in the van of the army; in 1346, he again attended his ſovereign into that kingdom at the head of the ſecond line, as the Earls of Murray and Douglas did at the head of the third; his conduct was extremely gallant, for ſeeing the advantage of the Engliſh bowmen, he charged them ſword in hand with ſuch impetuoſity that they fell back upon Lord Percy's diviſion, which would have ſuffered an entire defeat, had it not been ſupported by the perſonal bravery and good conduct of Edward Baliol, who was reinforced by 4000 horſe; but, though he could not ſucceed in his aim, yet he made a very able retreat; however as he did not return with his diviſion, David was greatly diſſatisfied, and thence ſuppoſed that the Engliſh were enabled to conquer, and to lead him away a priſoner; this at leaſt many of the Scottiſh hiſtorians relate; but as he was again appointed guardian of the kingdom, it is not eaſy to conclude what could induce the kingdom

PART II. SECT. I. King Robert II.

to place ſo great a confidence in him, if he had been the cauſe of her misfortunes. We muſt applaud the ſingular prudence with which he led back the remains of the army into Scotland; he governed in ſuch a manner as to prevent the total deſtruction of the kingdom; and preſerved its independence by refuſing to liſten for a moment to the unreaſonable demands exacted by the victorious Edward; for by an article in the treaty concluded between the two ſovereigns, it was ſtipulated that in caſe David had no child, he ſhould procure the ſucceſſion for King Edward, if he poſſibly could, by having it ratified by the ſtates, which agreement ſacrificed the intereſt of the High Steward in particular, and the nation in general; this gives us but a mean idea of this monarch; and it plainly appears that David's affection for the heir of his crown was not great, nor his attention to his ſubjects ſuch as their loyalty deſerved; but there are no proofs of what we find in ſo many writers, that he had ſo ſtrong a perſonal diſlike to Robert, that he took from him the right of ſucceſſion, to give it to Alexander the ſon, and heir of the Earl of Sutherland by the Princeſs Jane, his youngeſt ſiſter; the crown was not in the gift, or diſpoſal of the ſovereign, and therefore no ſuch tranſaction could have taken place, without the conſent of the Parliament; nor can it be ſuppoſed that he, who had been twice guardian of the kingdom, poſſeſſing great power and riches, ſhould quietly ſubmit to ſuch injuſtice, nor is there any record to be produced to prove this pretended diſinheriting, or of any commotion in conſequence of ſuch an attempt; but ſay the fabricators of the tale, Alexander's death put an effectual end to the project of giving away the crown from the legal heir; that diſagreements might have ariſen between them is eaſy to believe; David had a jealouſy and diſtruſt which generally is entertained againſt an heir preſumptive, heightened by Robert's having been ſo long the guardian of his kingdom; the High Steward on the other hand ſaid, that his right of ſucceſſion was meanly bartered away by David, to the King of England, for the ſake of eaſing the former in having his ranſom remitted; it cannot therefore be wondered at, that animoſities ſhould ariſe between them. That ſome

jealouſies ſubſiſted is apparent, for in 1363, Robert renewed his fidelity, by an oath taken at Inchmurdach, and his right of ſucceſſion was again acknowledged by the Parliament; and this too at a time when his hopes of ever poſſeſſing the throne were moſt likely to deceive him, for David had juſt then married a young wife, and was intereſting heaven to grant him iſſue, by his pilgrimages to the moſt famous ſhrines and roods, not only in his own dominions, but in England; and by his liberality, he ſhewed how much he wiſhed to revenge himſelf upon his nephew, by becoming a father; but neither the crumbling bones of ſaints and martyrs, nor the croſſes of wood and ſtone would liſten to the fervent prayers of the King, who quarrelled with the youthful Queen, and ſoon after died * on February 22, 1371, when the crown was unanimouſly adjudged to have deſcended to Robert; for it is impoſſible for a moment to ſuppoſe that the Earl of Douglas would have ventured to put in his claim, founded upon the ſuperior right of the Baliols, to the Bruces, after the nation had to give the diadem to the latter, and in doing which had experienced every hardſhip; had ſuch a plea been urged, it would

* It is evident that there can be no truth in the aſſertion that the High Steward was diſinherited by King David from preference to his couſin the Earl of Sutherland's ſon, becauſe the Parliament was not ſo much as conſulted, and if it had, we muſt ſuppoſe it would have rejected the propoſition, as it would not liſten to David's, reſpecting the King of England's ſucceſſion; though the offers both to the kingdom at large, and to individuals, muſt have been very ſuperior to any that could have been made by the heir of an Earl of Sutherland; but although ſome miſunderſtanding had been between the King and his nephew, yet it appears evident that if David did not love, he courted Robert upon his return from his captivity; for in 1359, he had a grant of the earldom of Strathern, and his eldeſt ſon had alſo in the ſame year that of Athol conferred upon him; in 1363, the King gave to that young Prince the earldom of Carric, with the conſent of the ſtates aſſembled in Parliament; and that they deſerved theſe eſſential marks of favor both from the ſovereign, and the kingdom, the conduct of Robert whilſt governor evinces, and eſpecially as he did not heſitate to give his honor to ſurrender himſelf a priſoner to the Engliſh when called upon, and in 1358, to ſatisfy them reſpecting the payment of King David's ranſom, he put himſelf in the power of Edward III. as alſo did firſt his eldeſt, and then his ſecond ſon, and beſides he greatly aſſiſted in paying off the royal ranſom.

PART II. SECT. I. King Robert II.

have been a reflection upon the people at large, for having ſpent its beſt blood and treaſure in ſecuring the ſucceſſion to the Brucian branch of the blood royal, and of ingratitude both to the brave King Robert, and the High Steward his grandſon, who under providence had ſecured to the Scottiſh nation independency. Therefore inſtead of the leaſt objection being made to his acceſſion to the throne upon the deceaſe of David, it is probable it was received with the utmoſt joy by the whole nation, except perhaps a few intereſted individuals who had been partizans of the Baliols, but who certainly would not dare to expreſs their ſentiments againſt the ſenſe of the nation. Robert loſt nothing of the character he had acquired whilſt the firſt ſubject in the kingdom; he ſtrove rather to ſerve, than aſtoniſh his people by a diſplay of brilliant actions, that, whatever merit they may confer upon the ſovereign, are ſure to bring no ſolid advantages to the nation; he found his dominions torn by faction, and impoveriſhed as much as poſſible, and the object to which a rich and powerful neighbour conſtantly looked; he therefore turned his thoughts towards repairing the damages Scotland had ſuſtained by her domeſtic and foreign wars, and to eſtabliſh that due ſubordination to the laws, which in anarchy and confuſion are generally forgotten; to weaken his enemy he renewed the French league, and took every opportunity to ſtrengthen his own kingdom; by which means he reſtored Scotland to a tranquillity and importance it had never known ſince the death of the heroic Robert I. his maternal grandfather, and firmly eſtabliſhed the crown of an independent kingdom in his own family. Robert died after a proſperous reign of nineteen years at the Caſtle of Dundonald upon the river Irvin, April 19th, 1390, in the ſeventy-fifth year of his age, and his remains were depoſited in the abbey church of Scoon *.

* The preceding kings of Scotland conſtantly took the deſign or pattern of their great ſeals from thoſe of the Engliſh monarchs; Duncan is the firſt that is known to have had one. Robert II. probably borrowed the form of his ſecond ſeal from France; it is peculiarly elegant; on one ſide he is repreſented ſeated upon a throne, treading upon two dragons; upon the other, he is given in armour on horſeback;

PART II.
SECT I.

The Wives of King Robert II.

Wives of K. Rob. II.

Robert when a young man was captivated by the beautiful Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Adam Mure, of Rowalton; but though somewhat related to him, ſhe was not in point of rank or fortune equal to the heir of a crown; probably for that reaſon his uncle King David, he knew, would not have conſented to the marriage; and as it was impoſſible for even diſtant relations at that time to marry without a diſpenſation from Rome, to wait for which required more patience than was conſiſtent with the violence of his paſſion; beſides, too, it is not impoſſible, but he might dread an abſolute refuſal from his ſovereign; he therefore prevailed upon his fair couſin to forſake her father's reſidence, and take up her abode in his Caſtle of Dundonald, whither they were privately married by Roger Mackadam, a prieſt as ſome aſſert, but it is not entirely clear; but probably both the lady and her father were ſatisfied with Robert's honor in fulfilling all the rites of the church, for according to the laws then exiſting, until a diſpenſation came from Rome, ſhe could not legally be his wife; how long it was before all the obſtacles were removed to make the union lawful is unknown, it is however generally allowed that it was not until the birth of John, their eldeſt child; but it is certain that at length they were married according to the proper and preſcribed forms then in being *; and by

Elizabeth, the firſt wife of K. Robert II. who died before his acceſſion.

the trees in the backg'round are beautiful; the inſcription on both ſides runs, Robertus Dei Gratia Rex Scotorum.

He was the firſt of the Scotch kings that uſed any device; his was a coronet painted with two rows of glittering ſtars, and placed over a terreſtrial globe, and for a motto, "Vanitas vanitatum, et omnia vanitas."

* As an undeniable proof that King Robert was canonically married to Elizabeth, a charter has been produced, dated at Perth, January 24th, 1364, by which he, who is deſcribed Steward of Scotland, and Earl of Strathern, endows a chapel in the

PART II. SECT. I.

Wives of K. Robert II.

the cannon law this marriage legitimized all the children born prior to it. She died in the year 1358, ſo that ſhe never became Queen of Scotland; her remains were interred in the chapel of Paiſley.

Queen Eupheme, the ſecond wife of K. Robert II.

The ſecond wife of King Robert II. was Eupheme Roſs, daughter of Hugh, Earl of Strathern, and widow of John Randolph, Earl of Murray*, whom he married within leſs than two years

church of Glaſgow, becauſe, "William by the grace of God, biſhop of Glaſgow, "had been impowered and delegated by the Apoſtolic See to grant a diſpenſation "for a marriage between him and the deceaſed Elizabeth Mure, whilſt ſhe was "alive, the canonical impediments of conſanguinity notwithſtanding," to this charter are his own and his eldeſt ſon's ſeal, and it is witneſſed by the abbot of Kylwynnyne and the Lord John, the brother of Robert. After giving this extract from the charter, other proofs of the canonical marriage are unneceſſary; however, the original diſpenſation authorizing the marriage has lately been diſcovered in the archives of the Vatican.

* The time of Queen Eupheme's marriage was in, or prior to, 1375; for that year it appears by a curious record, dated at Perth, that an agreement was entered into between her, and David, Count Palatine of Strathern, and Earl of Caithneſs, on the one part; and Alexander de Moravia or Murray, of Drumſergoth on the other; by which it is covenanted that the latter ſhall marry the Lady Jannet of Monimuſk, the Queen's ſiſter, and both her majeſty and Lord Strathern oblige themſelves to do all they can towards recovering him his patrimony, by procuring the opinion of lawyers, and this at their own proper charges and expences; the Queen agrees alſo to maintain her ſiſter for one or two years; and it is likewiſe ſtipulated that Walter Murray, the brother of Alexander, might, if he choſe it, marry the eldeſt daughter of the ſaid Lady Jannet, who conſequently was a widow; it was curious that one brother ſhould think of marrying the mother, and the other the daughter: the birthright claimed by Alexander Murray, it is thought by my author, Guthrie, related either "to the earldom of Strathern, or to the eſtate of Bothwell, as he was a deſcendant of the regent Murray;" but ſurely the Earl of Strathern would not be a party to an inſtrument that militated againſt his intereſt in ſo material a point, as diſputing the right to his earldom; I think him more ingenious in his obſervation that this record ſeems to prove that the Queens of Scotland, like thoſe of England, had formerly a revenue appropriated to themſelves. The ſimple manners of the times are very obvious; to many they would appear extremely extraordinary: but in rude ages, and where there were little ſpecie, ſuch circumſtances often occur; what would now appear a ſmall ſum to a decent tradeſman, was then conſiderable even to the ſovereign of a kingdom.

after the death of his former wife; ſhe was alſo buried at Paiſley. Eupheme's great ſeal is a copy of that of Iſabel, the Queen of King Edward II. of England.

PART II. SECT. I. Wives of K. Rob. II.

Children of King Robert II. by Elizabeth his firſt wife, who died before his acceſſion to the throne.

Younger children of K. Robert II. by Elibeth his firſt wife.

1. John who took the name of Robert III. when he ſucceeded to the Scottiſh diadem; See Part III. Section I.

John, who had the name of K. Robert III.

2. Robert, Duke of Albany, governor of Scotland; of whom and his deſcendants, ſee Part II. Section II. and III.

Robert, Duke of Albany, &c.

3. Alexander, Earl of Buchan. See Part II. Section IV.

4. Elizabeth; ſhe and her ſiſters were ſtiled ladies; and by their father after he became a ſovereign they had no higher title; indeed, I have ſeen no other addition to their names than what was uſed to all the daughters of the Scotch noblemen; King Robert II. conſtantly calls them in his charters his beloved daughters. Lady Elizabeth married whilſt the King her father was only Earl of Strathern, for which reaſon Dr. Abercrombie very naturally ſuppoſes her the eldeſt of his daughters; her huſband was Sir Thomas Haya, now ſpelt Hay, Earl of Errol, ſon and heir of Sir David, the ſeventh Lord Errol, and conſtable of Scotland, who was ſlain at the battle of Durham, fought October 16th, 1345. The Earl of Errol was one of the firſt characters of that period: in 1353, he was appointed a commiſſioner to negotiate the freedom of King David II. who had been taken a priſoner by the Engliſh at the above battle; and when that ſovereign had procured his liberty, he was one of thoſe noble perſons who were ſent into England as hoſtages for the payment of his ranſom; when he obtained his own liberation is not known, but it was before 1371, for in that year he

PART II. SECT. I.

Younger children of K. Robert II. by Elizabeth his firſt wife.

preſided as High Conſtable of Scotland, in the Parliament when the ſucceſſion to the crown was declared to be veſted in his brother-in-law, John, Earl of Carric, the eldeſt ſon of King Robert II. The French monarch having ſent into Scotland 40,000 franks to be diſtributed amongſt the greateſt and moſt powerful of the Scots, in gratitude for the ſervices the Scottiſh forces had rendered him in ſtopping the career of the Engliſh victories; this ſum at that time, a very great one, was divided between the ſovereign, and ſuch who were of moſt conſequence in the ſtate; this Earl received 400 franks; and in 1378, he procured his lands to be united into one barony: he died at an advanced age in 1406, having had two ſons and two daughters by this daughter of King Robert II. From the eldeſt of the ſons, deſcended the Hays, Earls of Errol, hereditary High Conſtable of Scotland, which honors have been carried into other noble families by females.

Marjory, married to John Dunbar, Earl of March.

5. Marjory, another daughter of King Robert II. was married to John Dunbar, ſecond ſon of the Earl of March. The ſovereign his father-in-law, by his charter under the great ſeal in 1372, granted to his "beloved ſon, John Dunbar, and Marjory his "ſpouſe, his deareſt daughter, and the heirs procreate, or to be "procreate betwixt them, the earldom of Murray," and in default of iſſue, to George, Earl of March, and his heirs general. A ſlanderous author ſays this grant was a recompence for the Lady Marjory's "loſt virginity," but no proof is brought to ſubſtantiate the aſſertion, therefore it is probable that there may be no authority for this ſcandal. In 1376, his Lordſhip obtained another charter of all the lands in the thaneſhip of Kintore; and in the years 1383 and 1385, alſo others for various lands and baronies. He was appointed in 1381, to treat with the Engliſh about a peace, for which he had a paſſport; he was alſo a guarantee of a treaty concluded with that nation in 1390; ſoon after which he died. The iſſue of this marriage was two ſons and a daughter: the title of Murray continued in the male line for ſeveral deſcents; but Mary (though the ſecond and youngeſt) daughter of James, Earl of

Younger children of K. Rob. II. by Elizabeth his first wife.

Murray took that earldom to Archibald, third ſon of James, ſeventh Earl of Douglas; but he dying in the field of battle fighting againſt his ſovereign in 1456, the title was forfeited, and, after lying dormant a long time, James IV. granted it to one of his natural ſons.

Jane, married firſt to John Lyon, Great Chamberlain of Scotland, and ſecondly to Sir James Sandiland, Lord Calder.

6. Jane married to Sir John Lyon, called from the fairneſs of his complexion the "white Lyon:" he was ſon and heir of Sir John Lyon, who for his important ſervices to King Robert I. and King David II. obtained ſeveral lands and baronies in the counties of Perth and Aberdeen; but it muſt be confeſſed that this his ſon was not either by birth or fortune authorized to have aſpired to the marriage of a daughter of his ſovereign; but the elegance of his manners joined to a good underſtanding extremely improved by education, and an application that is ſeldom diſcoverable in youth, raiſed him to the higheſt honors of the ſtate, and theſe led to this ſplendid alliance. He firſt ſerved King Robert II. as his clerk and ſecretary, and for his fidelity in that office he received a grant of lands of a conſiderable value, which bears date March 28th, in the ſecond year of that reign; and this was confirmed to him by another charter dated January 7th, 1374, given him by John, Earl of Carric, Robert, Earl of Fife, and Alexander, Lord of Bradenock, the three eldeſt ſons of the King, who expreſſed that they did it as a recompence for his great fidelity, and conſtant attention to their ſervices, that neither they, nor their heirs, ſhould ever revoke the gift, but, on the contrary, do all they could to ſtrengthen it whenſoever required, and protect him as much as poſſible. Soon afterwards the monarch conferred upon him the honor of knighthood, that "he might be the better qualified for the royal alli-"ance;" and as "a farther recompence" for his paſt ſervices, he obtained the hand of his ſovereign's daughter, and the barony of Kinghorn in the name of a gift, as the charter expreſſes it; but it ſeems to me, to have been the bridal fortune, for money at that time was too ſcarce to be parted with, and therefore lands were generally given with daughters, as the hiſtory of our own early

PART II SECT. I.

Younger children of K. Rob. II. by Elizabeth his firſt wife.

kings evince. As a perpetual remembrance of this ſplendid alliance, he had an augmentation to his paternal arms, argent a lion rampant, azure, armed and langued gules, a double treſſure counter flewry of the firſt; and for a creſt, on a wreath a lady to the girdle, holding in her right hand a royal thiſtle, incloſed with a circle of laurel. Some time after his nuptials, he was raiſed to the high office of Great Chamberlain of Scotland, which was taken from Mr. Biggar, Rector of Errol in 1378, probably, purpoſely to add honor and conſequence to the ſon-in-law of the King. In 1382, he went into England with the title of ambaſſador, and was allowed a ſafe conduct for himſelf, with permiſſion to take with him a retinue of forty horſemen. Upon his return into Scotland he was killed at a place called the Moſs of Balhal, ſome ſay in a duel, others by a ſurprizal, but he certainly fell by the hand of Sir James Lindſay, Lord Crawford, whoſe mother Egidia, was the daughter of Walter, Lord High Steward of Scotland, and Marjory, daughter of King Robert I. ſo that he was a near relation both to the ſovereign, and to this unhappy nobleman by marriage; what raiſed the paſſion of Lord Crawford againſt him is not known; ſome have ſuppoſed it to have ariſen from envy in ſeeing ſuch a vaſt acceſſion of honor, power, and riches fall to the lot of one, he thought inferior to himſelf in family, and could not brook his nearer alliance with the blood royal than himſelf could boaſt; others have thought this violent hatred aroſe from diſguſt, as he is ſaid not to have borne his proſperity with that humility his enemies expected: but however his death happened, or from whatever cauſe, it was a ſevere loſs to his country and his Prince; the latter lamented his fate with the greateſt concern, ordering his body to be conveyed to the abbey church of Scoon, where he intended his own to be laid; and he was ſo exaſperated at the outrage, that though Lord Crawford was his nephew, and private aſſaſſination by no means rare at that period, and ſeldom capitally puniſhed, yet it was long before he could obtain his pardon. To farther declare his regard for the memory of the deceaſed, and to his family, he took John, the infant Lord Glamis, his grandſon,

under his immediate protection, forbidding any to injure either his perſon, or property, under pain of his higheſt diſpleaſure. The family of Lyon deſcended from this King's daughter, ſtill continues in Scotland with great honor; for beſides ſeveral conſiderable families, the eldeſt branch is ſtill ennobled, and has been increaſed in rank; for Patrick the eleventh Lord Glamis, obtained the earldom of Kinghorn, and his grandſon alſo that of Strathmore, which are both enjoyed by his heir male; the preſent Peer bearing thoſe titles.

Younger children of K. Rob. II. by Elizabeth his firſt wife.

The Lady Jane, left early a widow, ſoon found in her father's court another huſband in the perſon of Sir James Sandilands, ſecond Baron of Calder; he was of illuſtrious deſcent; for Sir James his father, Laird of Sandilands and Whiſlon, married Eleanor, only daughter of Alexander, Earl of Carric, natural ſon of Edward Bruce, brother of King Robert I. by whom he had this young nobleman; and who, in his mother's right, poſſeſſed the barony of Weſt-Calder, or Calder Comitis, and was knighted by King Robert II. who no doubt conſented to his marriage. The iſſue of this ſecond union was one child, a ſon, Sir James Sandilands, third Baron of Calder, who was one of the hoſtages given as a ſecurity for the payment of the ſum due to the Engliſh, contracted by King James, whilſt he was detained by them: one of his deſcendants obtained the barony of Torpichen from Queen Mary, and which is ſtill poſſeſſed by the heir male of this family.

7. Catherine, married to Sir David Lindſay, Lord Crawford, and Gleneſk, created by his father-in-law King Robert III. in 1398, Earl of Crawford; he was couſin and heir of that nobleman who killed Lord Lyon, the huſband of her ſiſter; his Lordſhip was in great favor with King Robert II. and alſo with King Robert III. from the former he obtained grants of lands in various parts of the kingdom, and alſo an annuity of 40l. ſterling iſſuing out of the great cuſtoms of Aberdeen; moſt of the eſtates he received were entailed upon his brothers, and their heirs male, his

Catherine, married to Sir David Lindſay, Lord Crawford created Earl of Crawford.

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Younger children of K. Rob. II. by Elizabeth his firſt wife.

own failing; and in all theſe charters he is ſtiled by thoſe potentates, beloved ſon, or brother. He was named a commiſſioner appointed to treat with the Engliſh in 1404, and their monarch granted a ſafe conduct for himſelf and one hundred horſemen; in 1406, he was ſent to that court as ambaſſador extraordinary, but he did not long ſurvive this latter embaſſy, dying in 1412. The iſſue of this marriage was five ſons and two daughters; 1. William the progenitor of many Earls of Crawford, one of whom, for life only, was created by King James IV. Duke of Montroſe; but Lodowic, the loyal Earl of Crawford, having no male iſſue, and being kept a priſoner by the oppoſers of his ſovereign, King Charles I. he was prevailed upon to ſurrender up the earldom to the Earl of Lindſay, then Lord High Treaſurer of Scotland, and who was in great favor with the victorious party. 2. David, called of Lindſay; 3. William, ſeated at Cairny; of neither of whom is any thing memorable known. 4. Ingram, who became biſhop of Aberdeen. 5. Bernard, who fell in the battle of Verneuil in France in 1424. 6. Matilda, married to Archibald, Earl of Douglas, and Duke of Turenne in France, and a marſhal of that kingdom; and 7. Elizabeth, who became the wife of Sir William Douglas of Lochlevin. It muſt alſo be remarked that from the deſcendants of the male line, beſides the old Earls of Crawford, various branches ſtill remain of the name, as the Earls of Balcarras, the Crawfords of Evelick, and ſome in Germany. The Scotch Barons of Spanizie alſo of that ſurname, but now extinct, were likewiſe male deſcendants of Catherine, daughter of King Robert II.

Margaret, married to John de Yle, Lord of the Iſles.

8. Margaret, married to John de Yle, the ſeventh Lord of the Iſles, deſcended from Somerled, King of the Iſles; he inherited much of the turbulence of his anceſtors, and for ſome time was a partizan of the Baliols, acknowledging Edward Baliol as his ſovereign, bribed probably by the conſiderable grants he received from him: and to make himſelf ſtill more formidable to the Scottiſh nation, he obtained in 1337, a ſafe conduct to viſit England, and in 1353 he concluded a treaty, offenſive and defenſive, with King

Younger children of K. Rob. II. by Elizabeth his firſt wife.

Edward III. as if he had been, what he laid claim to, a free and independant ſovereign prince: but when the kingdom of Scotland became ſettled after the return of King David II. from France, he ſubmitted to own him as the rightful ſovereign of Scotland; and what was extraordinary, he offered himſelf as one of the hoſtages to the Engliſh for the payment of King David II.'s ranſom. During the reign of Robert II. he was extremely attentive to behave as a dutiful ſubject: nothing certainly could be better policy in that potentate, than detaching him from the Engliſh, and winning him to the intereſts of Scotland, by giving him his daughter; and he was ſo well aſſured of his allegiance, that he added ſtill more to the dangerous pre-eminence which his anceſtors had attained, for he gave him grants of ſeveral conſiderable demeſnes that inconteſtably made him the moſt powerful chieftain holding of the Scottiſh crown. By the Princeſs he had three ſons and two daughters, all of whom left children; Donald, the eldeſt ſon, was Lord of the Iſles; he revolted becauſe he had not the earldom of Roſs conferred upon him, as he judged he had an equitable claim, but was defeated at Harlaw by the gallant Prince, Alexander, Earl of Mar, as will be particularly noticed a inſubſequent page: that earldom, however, went to the ſon of Donald; but the family loſt it in the reign of King James III. as they did the Lordſhip of the Iſles in that of James IV. From the ſecond ſon deſcended the Macdonalds, Earls of Antrim in Ireland; and ſeveral private families of that ſurname in Scotland alſo owe their origin to him, and the youngeſt ſon.

Children of King Robert II. by Queen Eupheme.

Children of K. Robert II. by Q. Eupheme, his ſecond wife.

David, Earl of Strathern.

9. David, Earl of Strathern; of whom ſee Part II. Section V.

Walter, Earl of Athol.

10. Walter, Earl of Athol; of whom ſee Part II. Sect. VI.

Iſabel married to James Earl of Douglas and Mar; and 2dly, to Sir I. Edmonſton, Kt.

11. Iſabel, generally called by hiſtorians Eupheme, but the records of the kingdom evince that the former was her name. She

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Children of K. Rob. II. by Q. Eupheme.

was firſt married to James, Earl of Douglas and Mar, one of the moſt gallant men of the age; he loſt his life, when victorious, in the ever-memorable battle of Otterburn, July 31, 1388. The only child of this marriage died an infant, ſo that the earldom of Douglas went to his half-brother Archibald, but that of Mar, with the lordſhip of Garrioch, and other poſſeſſions, devolved upon Iſabel, his ſiſter of the whole blood, who married Sir Alexander Stuart, ſon of Alexander, Earl of Buchan, fourth ſon of King Robert II. There is not the moſt diſtant reaſon to ſuppoſe what ſome authors affirm, that the Earl of Douglas and Mar's father ever claimed the crown of Scotland upon the death of King David II. as there could not have been the leaſt ſhadow of right to ſupport his pretenſions; yet they have ſaid that this marriage with a daughter of King Robert II. with his ſon, was made to induce him to relinquiſh his claim, to unite the intereſt of the Douglas' with the royal houſe of Stuart, and to gain ſo very eſtimable a character as Earl James to ſupport the royal authority, much injured by the ſupineneſs of the former ſovereign.

The lady Iſabel re-married to Sir John Edmonſton, Knight, but whether ſhe had any iſſue by him, or whether ſhe ſurvived him, is not certain; it is a moſt ſingular circumſtance that ſo very little is known of her, or her ſiſters, though daughters of a king; but ladies of the higheſt rank at that period paſſed from the gloomy manſion of the father, brother, or other near relation to that of their huſbands, where they lived unnoticed and unknown by any, but the retainers or dependants of their haughty lords. As all the daughters of King Robert II. married ſubjects, and he had ſo many of them, moſt of the ennobled, and many families of the gentry of Scotland deſcend from him.

Illegitimate children of King Robert II. by his beloved miſtreſs, whoſe ſurname was More or Moran.

1. Sir John Stuart, called the "Black Stuart," to whom his father gave the hereditary office of ſheriff of the Iſland of Bute, which had been the ancient patrimony of the royal family when ſubjects, and the ſame poſt in that of Arran, with ſome grants of lands, all of which were confirmed to him by Robert III. by his charter dated November 11, 1400; he alſo received from the regent, Robert, Duke of Albany, a charter dated at Irvine, January 1, 1418, of the lands of Hynock in the barony of Renfrew; in theſe charters he is called both by the king and the regent "beloved "brother;" no impropriety was then ſuppoſed, by openly owning their neareſt illegitimate relations; there was very little difference made on that account by the father, who almoſt conſtantly gave the natural children the ſurname of the family. Sir John married Jean, daughter of Sir John Temple of Elieſton, anceſtor of the noble family of that name. The Stuarts, Earls of Bute, are deſcended from this marriage.

The illegitimate iſſue of K. Robert II.
Sir John Stuart, called the Black.

2. Sir John Stuart, called the "Red Stuart," ſeated at Dundonald and Beverley; he was cruelly put to death May 3, 1425, by James, third ſon of Murdoch, Duke of Albany.

Sir John Stuart, called the Red.

3. Thomas Stuart, who was elected biſhop of St. Andrews.

Thomas Stuart, biſhop of St. Andrews.

Illegitimate children of King Robert II. by Marion de Carney.

4. John Stuart of Knilevin; it is obſerveable that he was the fourth ſon of King Robert of the name of John: two even by the ſame mother are often ſeen later than this period, but ſeldom ſo

John Stuart of Knivelin.

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The illegitimate iſſue of K. Rob. II.

many as four; it might have been thought that the reaſon why the eldeſt ſon of King Robert born in marriage, ſhould change his name from John to Robert, was from diſlike to be one of the ſeveral "Johns" of his father, had he not choſe one that was borne by another of his brothers.

James Stuart, of Kinfanns.

5. James Stuart of Kinfanns.

Alex. Stuart of Lunen.

6. Alexander Stuart of Lunen.

An illegitimate child of King Robert II. but by whom is unknown.

Giles or Agide, married William Douglas, Lord Nithſdale

7. Giles, or Agide, who married, in 1386 or 1387, to William Douglas, called Regidio, created upon their marriage Lord Nithſdale, which title was limited to their legitimate iſſue: but neither of themſelves were born in wedlock, for he was the natural ſon of Archibald, Earl of Douglas; however in heroic exploits he was inferior to none of his name, and few were ſuperior either in perſonal or mental qualities. Europe acknowledged him her braveſt, and moſt gallant Knight; England, Ireland, Man, with ſeveral parts of the continent, witneſſed his proweſs; and eſpecially the infidels who inhabited Pruſſia, againſt whom he fought under the banners of the Knights of the Teutonic order, who then were the profeſſed enemies of thoſe unfortunate people, that had the dreadful alternative of relinquiſhing a religion they were bred in, to eſpouſe one they did not underſtand, and to become the ſubjects of theſe cruel converters of others to the meek tenets of the divine Jeſus, to quit their country, or bravely dye their native plains with their blood; but ſuch were the falſe ideas entertained by Chriſtians. The ſucceſs of his arms procured him many foreign titles, and placed him at the head of the Teutonic fleet; ſo diſtinguiſhed a poſt gave offence to Lord Clifford, an Engliſh nobleman, who envying him his promotion, ſent him a challenge, but previous to the day of combat, meanly procured his aſſaſſination. He

The illegitimate iſſue of K. Rob. II.

left a daughter who married Henry Sinclair, Earl of Orkney, but ſhe did not inherit her father's lands, nor the titles he was honored with by the ſovereigns he had ſerved. This daughter of King Robert II. is by Dr. Abercrombie, thought to have been legitimate, but as all other reſpectable hiſtorians ſay otherwiſe, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe ſhe was not born in wedlock, as to her being ſtiled his moſt "dear daughter" in his charters, it is no proof that ſhe was born of either of his wives, for he uſed the ſame tender epithet to his natural children. Of the royal iſſue born in marriage, it was ſaid they were either of peaceable and benevolent characters, or exactly oppoſite, violent, and guilty of the greateſt exceſſes; and that his natural ſons were

Prodiga natura baſtardis dat tria jura,
Aut ſunt pompoſi, fures, aut luxurioſa.

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Robert, Duke of Albany, governor of Scotland, ſecond ſon of K. Robert II.

ROBERT, Duke of Albany, governor of Scotland, ſecond ſon of King Robert II. was born about the year 1339; his education was well attended to, and his proficiency anſwerable, for he eclipſed all the contemporary princes of his family in thoſe qualities that can obtain, or ſecure power, and he availed himſelf of theſe advantages. Before his father's acceſſion to the throne he had procured the earldom of Monteith by marriage, and ſoon after the crown had devolved upon that ſovereign, Iſabel, the Counteſs of Fife, the widow of this ſon, ſurrendered up that title to him, actuated to it, ſays charter, which bears date the laſt day of March 1371, becauſe he was heir apparent according to a remainder created by his father Duncan, Earl of Fife, to Alan, Earl of Monteith, grandfather of the Lady Margaret, this Prince's then wife, as alſo by a ſettlement in his favour made by her, and her late huſband his ſon; and it alſo ſpecifies as a reaſon why ſhe reſigned Fife to him, becauſe he had recovered it when ſhe was from force and fear near giving it up, and therefore, probably ſhe thought it impoſſible to retain it herſelf; it muſt be owned the grant has a ſuſpicious appearance of having been procured by ſpecious, rather than juſt claims; though an annuity of 140l. ſterling was reſerved out of the revenues of the earldom for her maintenance. He was ſo pleaſed with the acquiſition of this great fief, that he conſtantly placed it in his titles before Monteith, and the poſſeſſing two ſuch conſiderable domains muſt have greatly contributed to raiſe him to the firſt conſequence in Scotland, eſpecially as in 1383, he obtained from his royal father the important office of Great Chamberlain of Scotland, vacant by the death of his

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brother-in-law, Sir John Lyon, Lord Glamis; this he held until the year 1408, when he reſigned it unto his ſon the Earl of Buchan. In 1385, he was ſo powerful that 3000 of the 50,000 francs ſent by the French to be diſtributed in the Scottiſh court were allotted to him, and he became ſoon after the moſt eminent of any of the blood royal about his father's throne; for both King Robert from age, and the elder Prince from lameneſs, were incapable of managing the affairs of the kingdom, when vigor of body was neceſſary to be united to that of the mind; therefore he was placed at the head of the adminiſtration, though not as ſome writers relate, made regent: the nation had reaſon to be pleaſed with this preference, for in 1387, he returned from England, then at war with Scotland, laden with the ſpoils of Weſtmoreland and Northumberland, by which he enriched himſelf and a gallant army compoſed of the firſt nobility of the kingdom; and when the Iriſh had committed ſome depredations upon the coaſt of Scotland, he was ſent to make repriſals; his ambition was fired with the hopes of the Iriſh crown which his relation Edward Bruce was ſo nearly poſſeſſing; but weak as the Engliſh government was, he found it impoſſible to do more than take an ample revenge for their conduct, which was more reſented, becauſe the Scotch had always regarded the Iriſh as deſcended from the ſame origin; the ſituation of Scotland too demanded his preſence, as it was requiſite that another army ſhould be led into England; thither therefore he haſted, and heading a ſufficient force he braved the Engliſh warden of the marches, who durſt not quit his entrenchments, though he ſaw him plunder the adjacent country; happily for the Britiſh nations, a peace was procured in the following year by the management of the Duke of Lancaſter, who did it to prevent hoſtilities extending to the dominions of his two royal ſons-in-law, the Kings of Caſtile and Portugal.

Upon the acceſſion of his brother King Robert III. he ſtill retained his power, continuing during the whole of his reign to guide the helm of the ſtate, for under the name of chief miniſter

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he had all the real power of the crown; he was joined with the Prince of Scotland, his nephews, and others, in a commiſſion to ſettle the terms of a truce with England, which were agreed to be prolonged from March 16, 1398, for a year; and ſo pleaſing was this to the Scottiſh monarch, that April 28th following, he raiſed him to the title of Duke of Albany; this was intirely honorary, for no ſuch place, much leſs any territory, is of that name in this northern kingdom; ſome have ſuppoſed, that by Albany was expreſſed the country of the Guidels or ancient Caledonians; others that Scotland itſelf was meant: I cannot think, but that it was ſomething like our dukedom of Clarence, which a little time before had been created by King Edward III. in favor of one of his ſons. Robert's ambition, however, was far ſuperior to this high dignity; he ſaw his eldeſt brother's ſons with envy, as knowing that the crown awaited them in preference to himſelf; and envy is not far removed from hatred; the younger ſon was a child, the eldeſt was brave, open in his temper, and imprudent in his conduct; Robert took advantage of theſe youthful indiſcretions of the heir apparent, and procured him to be placed in his hands, whence it is generally ſuppoſed he fell a victim to his inſatiable ambition; and James, his brother, then the only obſtacle that could have prevented his obtaining the regal honors, would have met a death equally premature, had not the aged monarch his father ſent him out of the kingdom, under the pretence of his receiving a better education in France than he could have had in his native country; but the young Prince was, contrary to treaties, detained in England, whither he had either been by accident driven, or landed to recruit his ſtrength, exhauſted by the ſickneſs his voyage had occaſioned; however, from whatever cauſe it happened, his parent bending beneath the weight of years, of ſickneſs, and ſorrow for the loſs of one, ſunk to reſt when bereaved of the ſurviving ſon, and Robert ſaw himſelf in the actual poſſeſſion of the kingdom; yet he had the moderation to be contented with the title of governor only; but though obliged to recognize the right of James, his captive nephew, to the ſucceſſion, he fruſtrated every attempt by negotia-

See the Fair Maid of Perth

* Some is said by many that Albany poisoned the contrary.

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tion to have him reſtored to the throne, flattering himſelf that James might die unmarried in captivity, in which caſe the crown would deſcend to him or his offſpring, and he had taſted too much the ſweets of governing to be eaſily reconciled to parting with his power, and ſubject himſelf to the authority of a young Prince, who could never regard him but with jealouſy, and would probably ſcrutinize all his actions, eſpecially the concern he had in the death of his brother, the Duke of Rothſay. Theſe motives were more than ſufficient to prevent the King's return; however, he kept up a decency of appearance in pretending that he was deſirous of obtaining it; in 1413, he ſent no leſs than three different embaſſies to the Engliſh court under a ſhew of effecting it, one in April, another in July, and the third in December; but when it was refuſed, it occaſioned no breach between the two nations, and the truce was renewed from time to time; James was a pledge to Henry that the governor ſhould keep Scotland quiet, and afford no aſſiſtance to his ſubjects, eſpecially as thoſe in the northern part of his kingdom were ill affected to his uſurped government; had Robert been refractory, his power would have been in a moment annihilated by the reſtoration of his ſovereign; however, he choſe to have ſomething of a pledge againſt Henry, for he afforded an aſylum to an Engliſhman who pretended to be the depoſed Richard II. whom he reſembled in perſon, and who was entertained in Scotland to his death, which happened about the time of Albany's. So that though from the animoſity and rancor that the people of both nations had to each other, and which they every now and then ſhewed, by ſome inroads at the expiration of each truce, yet peace was preſerved between the Britiſh courts, not only during the remainder of the reign of King Henry IV. but through a great part of that of his ſon and ſucceſſor; however, at length he ſent two of his ſons to ſuſtain the feeble cauſe of the dauphin, but whether he did this from a real patriotic motive, or as unwilling to ſee France, the ancient and great ally of Scotland, fall, or was compelled to it by the general and juſt alarm of the Scottiſh nation, is impoſſible to determine. He did not long ſurvive this tranſaction; but worn out with length of days, he

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died in the Caſtle of Sterling September 3, 1419, more than eighty years of age, in the full poſſeſſion of all his ſenſes, after receiving the ſacrament, and ſuch other rites of the church as were then practiced. His remains were interred in the abbey church of Dumfirmling, between the choir and the chapel of the bleſſed virgin, with a ſolemnity ſuitable to his illuſtrious birth and exalted ſtation; upon his tomb was this inſcription:

Jura tuens, et pacis amans, et maximus armis,
Robertus primus, dux in Albania ſummus
Gratia naturæ ſpeculum, quo vera refulcit
Juſticia, et quicquid in principe mundus adorat
Occidit, et pariter decus et pax, Scotia, totus
Excidit, Roberto cuſtode rebus adempto,
Anno Milleno quater CX. que noveno
Ejuſdem flamen cum Chriſto quadeat. Amen.

No praiſe would have been too much for this Prince, could his conduct to his brother King Robert III. and the ſons of that ſovereign be forgotten; the ambition of gaining a crown alone inſtigated him to the unpardonable behaviour they experienced from him, but his object was loſt, and he entailed upon his own family the misfortunes he had brought upon the others; however, he graſped the ſceptre, which he held to his death; and from the manner of his ſwaying it, even in his moſt advanced age, it may be preſumed that he would have been a moſt excellent ſovereign; juſt in his domeſtic government, provident and active as a general; uſually ſucceſsful in war, even when his forces were inferior in numbers to the enemy. He might be ſaid to have ruled Scotland for at leaſt half a century as prime miniſter, or governor of the kingdom, and with ſo juſtly admired a reputation as to be reſpected by all Europe, and feared and obeyed by the nation he preſided over; though ſubmiſſion to authority was not then the characteriſtic of the Scottiſh nation, whoſe great Barons ſeldom ſtood in awe of even regal power; and it muſt be remarked to his honor, that at no time was Scotland in

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a more critical ſituation than whilſt he preſided at the helm, as either aged infirm princes ſat upon the throne, or the ſovereign was a captive in the hands of her moſt powerful enemies, yet never did ſhe exert herſelf ſo much in aſſiſting her allies; and France at this period might be juſtly ſaid to owe her political exiſtence to the aſſiſtance ſhe received from him, more than to her own exertions. Robert in a moſt eminent degree poſſeſſed all the qualities of a great mind, his conciliating manner won him very many friends, and his condeſcending affability retained their regard; his munificence and hoſpitality made the people love him; and foreigners left Scotland juſtly praiſing the liberality and attention with which they had been treated. It is impoſſible which moſt to praiſe, his fortitude, juſtice, temperance, bravery, or unwearied application. He was tall and elegant, excelled in all the accompliſhments then known; this made him the pride and emulation of the young, and the greatneſs of his wiſdom rendered him reſpectable to all in his declining years, when his long flowing beard, whitened with age, gave him a moſt venerable appearance. His loſs was ſeverely regretted by the Scotch, who knew not the character of their deſtined monarch, and had no high idea of Murdoch their governor. Robert, during the time he ruled Scotland, after the death of his eldeſt brother, ſtiled himſelf "by the grace of God, ſon to the King "of Scotland, Duke of Albany, Earl of Fife and Monteith, and "governor of the kingdom of Scotland," and his ſovereign, only "James Stuart, who ſtiles himſelf King of Scotland," and the liberal manner in which he granted titles and eſtates ſhewed he looked upon himſelf, as he wiſhed others to think him, more than the repreſentative of his nephew. Robert's great ſeal as governor of Scotland is very much like that of King Edward III.; on one ſide of the throne is a ſhield of the arms of Scotland, on the other, a ſhield of four pieces, firſt and fourth a lion rampant; the ſecond and third a feſſe checky; the reverſe of the ſeal is the ſame as that of King Henry V. of England, except this has a running pattern of trees or ſhrubs: the inſcription on both ſides, "*Sigillum Roberti*

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ducis Albaniæ gubernatoris Scocie." It is wonderful that he and his ſon Murdoch did not coin money in their own names.

Wives of Rob. Duke of Albany, governor of Scotland, ſon of K. Robert II.

This regent married twice; firſt Margaret, grandchild and ſole heir of Alan, Earl of Monteith; and ſecondly, Muriella, daughter of Sir William, Lord Keith, Mariſhal of Scotland; by the former he had ſeven, by the latter two children.

Younger children of the firſt marriage of Robert, Duke of Albany.

Iſſue of Robert, Duke of Albany, by Margaret his firſt wife.

Murdoch, Duke of Albany.

1. Murdoch Duke of Albany, and governor of Scotland, of whom in the next Section.

Sir Andrew Stuart.

2. Sir Andrew Stuart, who left no iſſue.

Iſabel, married to Alexander, Earl of Roſs, and to Sir Walter Halliburton, Lord of the Iſles.

3. Iſabel, who married firſt to Alexander Leſly, Earl of Roſs, maternally deſcended from Matilda, ſiſter of King Robert I. Eupheme, the only child of this marriage, owing to her deformity, became a nun in a monaſtery in North-Berwic, and ſurrendered up her earldom to John, Earl of Buchan, a ſon of this Robert, Duke of Albany, in prejudice of Donald, Lord of the Iſles, the legal heir, which cauſed the moſt dangerous civil war Scotland ever knew. The ſecond huſband of Iſabel was Sir Walter Halliburton, Lord of Dirlton, by whom ſhe left iſſue.

Beatrix, married to Sir James Douglas, Earl of Douglas.

4. Beatrix, married to Sir James Douglas, Lord of Balveny, created by King James I. Earl of Evandale, and by the death of his nephew, he became Earl of Douglas.

Marjory, married to Sir Duncan Campbel, created Lord Campbel.

5. Marjory, who was the firſt wife of Sir Duncan Campbell of Lochow, deſervedly created by King James II. in 1445, Lord Campbel; he is anceſtor of the Duke of Argyle, Earls of Breadalbane, and of many other branches of the ſurname of Campbel.

6. Elizabeth, married to Sir Malcolm Fleming, Lord of Biggar and Cumbernauld, knighted by King Robert III. appointed a commiſſioner to attempt the freedom of his ſovereign King James I. and one of the hoſtages for the debt due to the Engliſh, and which was ſtipulated to be paid upon that monarch's return into Scotland: from his connection with the Dukes of Albany, the governors, he was ſuſpected of diſaffection to the perſon of King James; he was therefore impriſoned and tried for treaſon; but his innocence appearing, he was honorably acquitted; yet afterwards joining with the Earl of Douglas, it involved him in ruin: for accepting the treacherous invitation to Edinburgh Caſtle, ſent him by the Chancellor Crichton, he was publicly executed November 20, 1441, without any trial, a circumſtance too common at that period, not only in Scotland, but in other parts of Europe; the lords Fleming derive their deſcent from this marriage, the ſixth of that title obtained the earldom of Wigton to be revived in this family.

Elizabeth, married to Sir Malcolm Fleming, Lord of Biggar.

7. Margaret, married to Sir Robert Stuart, ſecond Lord of Lorn and Innermeath, who was alſo a commiſſioner employed to effect the liberation of King James I. and likewiſe one of the hoſtages given as a ſecurity for the money he owed the Engliſh for his maintenance whilſt detained by them. The iſſue of this marriage became memorable from Sir James the ſecond ſon's marrying a widow of Scotland, who was a Princeſs of England, as will be ſeen when we come to the reign of King James I.

Margaret, married to Sir Robert Stuart.

The iſſue of Robert, Duke of Albany, by his ſecond marriage.

Children of the ſecond marriage of Robert, Duke of Albany.

8. John Stuart, Earl of Buchan, was born about the year 1380, and obtained from his father the lordſhip of Coule, of which place in 1406, he wrote himſelf, and in that year he was appointed, with ſeveral of the family of Douglas, an hoſtage for the freedom of the Earl of Douglas, then a priſoner in the hands of the Engliſh, where he had continued ever ſince the memorable battle

John Stuart, Earl of Buchan.

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Children of the second marriage of Robert, Duke of Albany.

of Shrewſbury, fought in 1401; but as the treaty was not effective, he was not ſent into England. When the Duke his father obtained the government of Scotland, he reſigned to him the barony of Buchan, and alſo the office of Great Chamberlain of the kingdom; the letters patent for the latter are dated at Perth, March 11, 1406. Sir William Keith and his lady, Margaret Fraſer, his maternal grandfather and grandmother, alſo, by their charter, bearing date May 3, 1407, granted to him and his heirs the lands of Touch; and the ſheriffdom of the county of Stirling, with the remainder to his half brother Robert, and in failure of heirs of him, to the grantor, and his heirs. The regent alſo raiſed him to the earldom of Buchan; and by perſuading the Counteſs of Roſs, who was deformed, and ſecluded on that account in a nunnery, to ſurrender that title, he wrote himſelf Earl of Roſs and Buchan; but as Donald, Lord of the Iſles, claimed Roſs, and the eſtates appendant upon it, he was obliged to reſign that great fief to him. It is ſingular that he never was ſent an hoſtage into England, for he was not only named one for the return of the Earl of Douglas, as has been mentioned, but alſo twice was he appointed in two treaties to be given in exchange for his eldeſt brother Murdoch, and in 1416, as an hoſtage with others to procure the return of his ſovereign King James I.; but as none of the treaties in which he was mentioned took effect, he eſcaped a tedious captivity, and was enabled to ſerve his country in a more active way, for he had the command of the forces raiſed in 1419, to be ſent into France to oppoſe the Engliſh, who then threatened the ruin of the royal houſe of Valois; the army conſiſted of 7000 men, compoſed of the firſt and braveſt of the Scotch; the moſt conſpicuous of them after the general, were his brother Robert, Archibald, Earl of Wigton, ſon to the Earl of Douglas, Sir Alexander Lindſay, brother to the Earl of Crawford, and Sir Thomas Swinton: it is inconceivable what advantages the deſpairing dauphin derived from this body of gallant men; a check was given almoſt inſtantly to the arms of the heroic Henry V. for the Scotch ſecured ſome provinces, and prevented the defection of others; the greateſt ſervice he rendered

the French was in gaining the battle of Baugé in Anjou, a place of much importance, and which the Duke of Clarence in the abſence of his brother King Henry had determined to obtain, but which the Earl of Buchan was reſolved to defend; for that purpoſe calling in the parties under the command of the Earl of Wigton, and La Hire, a native of France, he encamped within four miles of the town, in which they intended to keep the feſtival of Eaſter; the Duke finding them upon their guard, marched to Beaufort, ſome little diſtance from Baugé, flattering himſelf he might ſurprize the enemy; but he ſuſpecting the intention of the Engliſh, ſent his relation, Sir John Stuart of Darnley, with a few choice horſemen to watch the Duke's movements; but they falling into the main army, with the utmoſt difficulty effected their retreat to their own camp. Inſtantly this provident commander ſent Stuart of Railſtone with a ſmall detachment to ſeize a bridge that was built over the rapid deep river, that bore the ſame name with the town which was built upon its banks; whilſt the Duke was contending for this important paſs, Kennedy, with 200 of his countrymen, reinforced Stuart, and, together, made a moſt vigorous reſiſtance, and gave time to their general to make due preparations for receiving the Engliſh in a field cloſe to the town. Stuart's party however was broken, and the Duke of Clarence purſued the Scots under his command; but in the heat of his ardor he forgot prudence, for falling into the advanced guard of the Earl of Buchan, it is probable he had not time to form his army, for they conſiſted only of 200 men; but they were reſolute, and freſh; they therefore ſet upon the Engliſh with vaſt advantage, ſingling out individuals either to kill or take priſoners. Sir Thomas Swinton attacked the ill-fated Clarence, and wounded him in the face with his lance, when the Earl of Buchan beat him down with a large mace he carried in his hand, and he never roſe again; by this time the battle became general; the Engliſh fought to revenge the death of their Prince, the Scotch to improve their advantage, and victory declared in their favor; at leaſt 1600 of the Engliſh lay dead, amongſt whom were the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Kent, and Lords Roos

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and Grey of Codnor; the chief of the priſoners were the Earl of Somerſet (taken by Laurence Vernor, a Scotch gentleman, afterwards knighted,) Lord Thomas his brother, the Earl of Strafford, the Earl of Huntingdon, taken by Sir John Lyon, Count Perche in France; and the Lord Fitz-Walter, who ſurrendered to Henry Cunningham; the ſpoils muſt have greatly aſſiſted to enrich the Scotch army; for beſides the ranſom due for priſoners, many coſtly jewels fell into their hands, eſpecially the rich diadem of the Duke of Clarence, which was gained by Sir Alexander Maccas, Laird of Lenox, who took it from his head, and ſold it to Sir John Stuart of Darnley for 1000 angels of gold; Sir John put it into the hands of Robert Huſt, as a pledge for the repayment of 5000 angels he owed him. The loſs of the Scotch in this battle was incredibly ſmall: perhaps nothing ever was more ſeaſonable to France than this victory. Pope Martin V. when he heard of it, ſaid, that "the Scots had always been excellent anti-"dotes to the Engliſh." I cannot but think that the loſs of a brother, whom Henry tenderly loved, and whoſe fate he ſincerely deplored, occaſioned his having ſuch an entire hatred to the Scots, that ever after he gave them no quarter, under pretence that they were rebels to their king, whom he had with him, though James was well known to be forceibly detained. Charles, the dauphin, was ſo highly pleaſed with the conduct of the Earl of Buchan, that he gave him the office of Lord High Conſtable of France, Count d'Evereux, and Seigneur of Conereſſault; and, at the ſame time, he received an honorable augmentation to his arms; this was the more pleaſing to him, as the French had been extremely ungrateful to the Scots, calling them, from their more generous manner of living, "guzzlers of wine and mutton." Upon his return to Scotland, he was received with the affection and regard that he merited, both by the regent his father, and by the people. The cauſe of his going to his native land was to finiſh the treaty of marriage between him and the Earl of Douglas's daughter, and to obtain a ſupply to augment the Gallic army, both of which he attained; for he gained the lady, and took with him into France the 8000

men aſked for; and, as an aſſiſtant in the cauſe, he won his father-in-law, who ſailed over with himſelf at the head of 5000 retainers and friends, with another of his ſons, in the room of the Earl of Wigton, who remained in Scotland, owing to an indiſpoſition; but theſe forces were leſs ſerviceable than they would have been, had Charles, now become King, given them more power; for, perhaps, fearful of ſeeming to favor foreigners too much, he placed over them Mariſhal Severac, who commanded only raw and undiſciplined troops, ſo that all the duty lay upon the well-ordered Scots, who, though they performed miracles of the moſt conſummate courage, were defeated in 1423, at Crevante, upon the river Younne, ſix miles above Auxerre, by that great warrior the Earl of Saliſbury, with the loſs of 1200 of the Scots, and the captivity of himſelf and Stuart d'Aubigny; yet diſaſtrous as this was, and triumphant as the Engliſh then were, under the Duke of Bedford, though ill from the loſs of an eye in the battle, did this Prince not only gain his liberty by eſcape, ranſom, or exchange, but plan and effect what could not have been ſuppoſed; for with the aſſiſtance of ſome confidential agents the King of France kept conſtantly near him, (to ſecond and ratify whatever he ſhould think proper to propoſe on his behalf) he procured in October, that year, a renewal of the ancient league between Scotland and France, by which the former undertook to ſupport the other, againſt not only the Engliſh, but every other enemy; and this was ratified in Parliament by the French ambaſſador, the Regent, his brother; Walter, his eldeſt ſon; the Earl of Athol, his uncle; and the great Earls and Barons, with the prelates, of Scotland; and he uſed all his endeavours to reſtore K. James I. to his long-withheld legal rights: and then, for the laſt time, he paſſed over into France, and continued to faithfully ſerve that crown as the ally of his own; but the battle of Verneuil, in Normandy, ended his glorious career. He had juſt taken the caſtle, as well as the town, and marched to attack Ivri; but finding the Earl of Saliſbury had an army equal to his own, and well intrenched, he declined an engagement which prudence forbade, and he determined to remain entirely defenſive; but this coolneſs was diſtaſteful to

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the impatient French; and made more ſo by the Duke of Bedford (who had joined the forces under the great Talbot) ſending an herald to challenge him, and a taunting meſſage to his father-in-law, that he "intended to dine with him*. The French therefore became deaf to every thing but inſtant revenge; and the Viſcount Narbonne was ſo provoked at his quieſcence, which was the reſult of his great good conduct, that ſnatching up a ſtandard, he reproached him as ſullying the glory of the French arms, and immediately ruſhing out of the line, was followed by his countrymen; the Scots, now no longer able to retain their temper, joined in the requeſt to be led to battle, a raſhneſs that was ſoon perceived by themſelves, for the enemy were the flower of the Engliſh forces; yet they did all that the moſt conſummate bravery could do; and long was victory dubious, until the Lombards and Milaneſe left their ranks in hopes of plundering the Engliſh camp, which leaving the flank of the Scots expoſed, they were obliged to ſubmit to their fate; but until the laſt they ſhewed how well they deſerved of thoſe allies, for whom they had ſuffered already ſo much: three hours they fought with all that determined valor that had eſtabliſhed their fame throughout Europe. The Conſtable, with Earl Douglas, created Duke of Terouane, his father-in-law, Sir Robert Stuart his brother, and many other illuſtrious perſons of the Scotch nation, with 3000 others, fell in this action; and half that number of Frenchmen, amongſt whom were the Earls of Aumale, Ventadour, de Tonnerre, Viſcount of Narbonne, Lords Granville, Manni, Gammaches, Guitri, Duke of Alençon, the Mariſhal de Fayette, and ſome others of the nobility of France, were made priſoners; nor was the battle won without coſting the Engliſh dear. It was fought Auguſt 18, 1425; this Earl's body, with thoſe of his relations that fell in the carnage, was buried with great funeral pomp in the abbey church of St. Gratian, belonging to the canons

* Douglas replied to the Duke of Bedford, "that he ſhould find the cloth laid." The Regent Duke was hurt probably at the former, for having deſerted the arms of the Engliſh.

regular at Tours, in Touraine. It cannot be doubted that this was one of the greateſt Princes of his family in every thing relating to the character of a general and a ſtateſman; he appears to have all the virtues, without the vices, of his father. He married, in 1413, Elizabeth, daughter of Archibald, Earl of Douglas, and Duke of Terouane, by the Princeſs Margaret, daughter of K. Robert III. with whom it was ſtipulated that he was to receive a fortune ſuitable to their rank. The iſſue of this marriage was an only child, Jean, married to George, Lord Seaton, anceſtor of the preſent Earl of Winton; but it is ſaid ſhe brought no part of her father's fortune to her family; if ſo, it was a reproach both to Scotland and France; however, her deſcendants quarter in their ſhield the arms of Buchan, *i. e.* azure three garbs, or. The honors her father held in Scotland, at leaſt, ought in juſtice to have been hers; but the ſovereign, jealous of the family of the Regents, would not permit it; however, ſhe and Lord Seaton obtained a grant of 40 marcs yearly for their joint lives, and the longer liver of them.

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9. Sir Robert Stuart, knight, the youngeſt ſon of Robert, Duke of Albany, was bred to arms, and accompanied his brother, the Earl of Buchan, to France; he was ſlain with him at Verneuil; his body was alſo buried with that of his brother, in St. Gratian's church. He left no iſſue.

Sir James Stuart, Kt.

PART II.

SECT. III.

Murdoch, Duke of Albany, governor of Scotland, grandſon of K. Robert II.

MURDOCH, Duke of Albany, and governor of Scotland, was the eldeſt ſon and heir of Robert, Duke of Albany, ſecond ſon of K. Robert II. Little is known of him before 1402, when he joined an army ſent into England under the command of the Earl of Douglas, with many other noblemen, and a great number of knights. This gallant corps was attacked at Homeldon, near Wooler, by the Earl of Northumberland, and the juſtly-celebrated Hotſpur, his ſon; and ſo great was the defeat of the Scots, that moſt of the perſons of diſtinction were taken priſoners, and, amongſt the number, Murdoch was captured; as he was the eldeſt ſon of the governor of Scotland, and ſo nearly related to the ſovereign, the Percys, though not famed for veneration to their own monarch, yet preſented him to K. Henry IV. when, by the law of arms, as then prevalent in Europe, he became their priſoner, and might have been detained by them, until they had received his ranſom; yet they complimented Henry ſo far, as to give him up entirely to his diſpoſal; a matter exceedingly grateful to that ſuſpicious and politic Prince, who rejoiced extremely in having two ſuch pledges as him and K. James I. in his hands at the ſame time. He was received with diſtinguiſhed reſpect by Henry, who, to gain the good will of the governor, his father, omitted no courteſy that would be acceptable, and leſſen the diſagreeableneſs of his reſtraint. It muſt have appeared ſingular to him to find himſelf a priſoner at the Engliſh court with his own ſovereign; and it was ſufficiently embarraſſing to the governor to attempt his releaſe before that of the royal captive: he therefore negociated for both, though with this

difference, he really wiſhed to obtain the one, but dreaded to procure the other; becauſe his ſon's preſence in Scotland ſtrengthened his own power, and the King's might have annihilated it. The Engliſh were ſenſible of this, and therefore ſeemed to forbid an hope of his enlargement, by the exorbitance of the terms upon which they offered to liberate him; for in 1408, when a negociation was pending for that purpoſe, they demanded, that if he was permitted to return home, in his room ſhould be ſent David, ſon and heir of the Earl of Caithneſs; John Stuart, Earl of Buchan, another ſon of the governor; Patrick Graham, Earl of Strathern, and Alexander Graham, ſon and heir of Lord Graham, all nearly allied to the crown; and in 1412, ſome of theſe, with Walter his eldeſt ſon, and others of the firſt families in the kingdom, were named in exchange for him; but ſuch terms probably were only offered that they might be refuſed; and during the remainder of the reign of K. Henry IV. he continued a priſoner, without any hope of gaining his liberty; at the death of that monarch he, with K. James I. and two other Scotch gentlemen, were ſent to the Tower, fearing that they might take advantage of the public confuſion, and regain their native plains. Nothing could have been more diſagreeable to him than living in the court of a foreign Prince, and under the eye of his ſovereign, ſpending with his family and attendants his fortune, by which alone he might flatter himſelf he ſhould at length be permitted to return home; for theſe reaſons, in all the negociations between the kingdoms, attempts were made to effect what he ſo ardently deſired; but this Henry V. long refuſed, unleſs the governor his father would give up the French alliance. Robert was ſo far from complying, that he united himſelf to them by a new treaty, in which he promiſed to aſſiſt them againſt the Engliſh, and all their other enemies: however Henry ſeems conſtantly to have paid every attention to him and K. James I. and though his treaſury was not ſufficient for his own great deſigns, yet he iſſued out of it ſums for their better maintenance; for the governor could not aſſiſt him, or did not chuſe to do it, as it would have been indecent to have omitted to ſupply the king, his nephew,

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alſo a priſoner. In 1414, the ſum of 300l. was iſſued out of the Engliſh exchequer for theſe two illuſtrious captives; the King had 700l. per annum allowed him by Henry, but he was permitted to borrow what ſums he pleaſed upon his own ſecurity; and the 40,000l. due in England at the time of his enlargement is generally ſuppoſed to have been what he received in this manner, chiefly probably of the rich Cardinal of Wincheſter, afterwards his uncle; and perhaps Murdoch might alſo obtain money in the ſame way; for ample as his eſtates were, and able to maintain him when reſiding upon them, they were far unequal to it in the gayeſt and richeſt court in Europe, and where the Scottiſh exiles thought it proper to vie with the Engliſh. Both he and K. James were ſoon releaſed from their confinement in the Tower, and were indulged in all the diverſions of the court; and it is well known great attention was paid to gratify the royal priſoner in whatever he wiſhed, conſiſtent with the ſafety of his perſon. In 1414, Murdoch found himſelf upon the verge of being reſtored to his father, for K. Henry liſtening to the overtures of the governor, had conſented to releaſe him, in exchange for the young Earl of Northumberland, who had been captured at the ever-memorable battle of Otterburn, and he had been taken from the Tower, whither I apprehend he had been again ſent; and Walter, his eldeſt ſon, George Dunbar, ſon and heir of the Earl of March; the Earl of Buchan, his uncle; Lord Graham; John Stuart, of Innermeath; Robert Maxwell, of Calderwood; and Andrew Hall, of Lyſton, were appointed to conduct the Earl of Northumberland, and to receive him upon the borders; but from reaſons not now known, K. Henry broke off the negociation, and he was to be ſent again to London. The diſappointment was ſo great, that regardleſs of public opinion, or his own ſafety, he attempted to gain that by artifice which he could not by treaty, for he ſet out with a deſign to eſcape by flight; but he was retaken by Ralph Pudſoy, Eſq. for which he had a reward of 20l. per annum ſettled upon him. But in the latter end of 1415, or the beginning of the year following, Henry conſented to the exchange, though it is wonderful he ſhould, unleſs he thought the ſending him home

would gain the governor, his father, ſo far to his intereſt, that he would prevent the Scots aſſiſting France, and that the detaining K. James was ſufficient to keep the Duke of Albany true to his cauſe; but if Henry had ſuch thoughts, he ſoon found that they did not coincide with the governor's policy; and it was on that account, I think, that he determined to permit the unfortunate monarch to return to his kingdom, and which would have happened, had not Henry's death prevented it; but judge the conſternation that both Murdoch and his father muſt have been in, when they knew it, and that the former was again to be ſent with many other Princes and nobles, as a ſecurity that James ſhould return to England at a ſtipulated time, or forfeit 100,000l., a ſum it was known Scotland could not raiſe. The Duke of Albany, old as he was, poſſeſſed all that ambition that had diſtinguiſhed him in his youth; therefore, that he might throw an odium upon James, and to counteract the deſigns of Henry, whoſe brows were crowned with the laurels of Agincourt, he affected to have it thought that the Scotch King had united with the Engliſh monarch to make war upon France; an idea which had it been general, James I., though permitted to return, would probably have been refuſed entrance into his kingdom, by the united voice of all his ſubjects, who would then eaſily have been perſuaded to ſet the crown upon the next branch of the royal family, which had ſo long governed them. In 1419, by the death of his aged father, Murdoch obtained the Dukedom of Albany, the Earldoms of Fife and Monteith, with the other family poſſeſſions; and he was called to the chair of ſtate in which the old Duke had ſat: and by the early termination of a glorious life Henry V. ceaſed to terrify him, either by giving a general or partial freedom to his ſovereign; ſo that it might be ſuppoſed he truſted to a long period of domination, as in the minority of K. Henry VI. It would, he thought, be the intereſt of the Engliſh court to retain K. James's perſon, and perhaps he might die a priſoner and unmarried; but that which ſeemed to be the greateſt ſecurity againſt having his power ſuperſeded, annihilated it; for it was the policy of the Engliſh to reſtore James, as he could

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not be more liberal in his aſſiſtance to the French than Murdoch; and the ſums to be paid were much wanted, as at leaſt part of them had been lent out of the exchequer; and a Princeſs of the blood royal obtained in him a more ſplendid alliance than otherwiſe ſhe could have had, and ſhe would naturally aſſiſt in recommending an union with her own country, in oppoſition to France; beſides, the money he owed in England would make him incapable of ſupporting the French. I have mentioned all theſe circumſtances as proofs that James's reſtoration was not the action of Murdoch, but originated with the Engliſh; for can it be ſuppoſed that this Prince, as governor of Scotland, could wiſh to bring back his ſovereign, who would reduce him to the ſtation of a ſubject, and, at leaſt, look upon him and his family with a jealous eye for all the cruelties he had experienced from them, and would probably rejoice in every occaſion he could find to mortify, if not puniſh, them? It is not meant to infer that England acted generouſly, but ſhe judged wiſely. Murdoch had no other merit in this great affair than in not impotently oppoſing what all Scotland rejoiced in, as it is allowed he was greatly deficient in the arts of government; that his power was deſpiſed by the people, and ſlighted even by his family; that diſorders might be ſeen through every part of his adminiſtration, the fruit of his, and his father's criminal ambition: his ſecuring ſome by the abolition of the royal domain, and by freeing the people from every reſtraint and every burden, how neceſſary ſoever for the well being and ſupport of the ſtate. For theſe reaſons Scotland rejoiced, and he was obliged to acquieſce in the return of the ſovereign in 1424, greatly to his ſecret mortification. K. James at firſt treated him with that reſpect his high rank and nearneſs of blood required; for he permitted him, as Earl of Fife, to conduct him at his coronation to the chair of ſtate, and he was named by him, after his return, the firſt of the conſervators of the truce concluded between K. James and the Engliſh; but ſoon a very different ſcene preſented itſelf; he and his family were involved in one common ruin. Hiſtorians have given us a very imperfect relation of it; and as it is ſo extraordinary, I ſhall endeavour to unravel it as much as poſ-

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ſible: to do this the better, I ſhall mix the cataſtrophe of Murdoch and his ſons together, as the whole is ſo interwoven, and depends ſo much upon peculiar circumſtances relative to each, that without taking this method it could not be ſo well explained. K. James, it muſt be remarked, was crowned at Scone, April 20, 1424, at which time no crime was alledged againſt the father, for having performed the firſt office in the ſtate; but May 13 following, Walter, his eldeſt ſon, was arreſted in the caſtle of Edinburgh, with Malcolm Fleming, of Cumbernauld, and Thomas Boyd, of Kilmarnock. Walter was ſent a cloſe priſoner to the Iſle of Baſs; Fleming firſt to Dalkeith, and then to St. Andrews; but he, as well as Boyd, were ſoon freed from their reſtraint, though the other remained in cuſtody; and yet, in the Parliament met at Perth, the 26th of the ſame month, no notice ſeems to have been taken of this detention, either by the young Prince, his friends, or the monarch; nor was any thing done that could reflect upon the late regent, or his family, except an act of reſumption that paſſed, and which was abſolutely neceſſary; as from the liberality of the two governors, the whole of the royal revenue was diſpoſed of to themſelves, and their friends; and they had omitted levying taxes to retain the love of the lower orders; the ſheriffs, were therefore, directed to inquire what James's anceſtors, David II. Robert II. and Robert III. "of good memory," had enjoyed in their counties; and all were obliged upon ſummons, to ſhew by what right they held their poſſeſſions, which in a moſt ſenſible manner reflected upon them, and aimed at diſpoſſeſſing them, and their friends, of what had been appropriated of the royal patrimony; but no inſurrection inſued, all paid a due obedience to the ſovereign, who yet retained Lord Walter in priſon; and March 9, 1425, eleven months after he had been arreſted, James alſo ſeized the Duke of Albany, his father, and Alexander, his brother, in Edinburgh caſtle; and three days after commenced his ſecond Parliament, held likewiſe at Perth; when he arreſted the Earls of Douglas, Angus, March, and Crawford, Lord Hay, great conſtable of the kingdom, Sir John Stuart of Dundonald, a natural ſon of K. Robert II. with

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two other gentlemen of the name of Stuart, and ſixteen knights and gentlemen of the firſt families in the realm; but it is not ſaid for what reaſon this was done; probably, it was becauſe they had refuſed to comply with the requiſition demanded of ſurrendering up the lands they held by grants from the regents, or would not ſhew their title deeds of ſuch eſtates as were claimed by the ſheriffs; this bold and ſevere blow was not reſented by the nation, and probably, they agreed to what was aſked of them, as they were all ſet at liberty again; but, the Duke of Albany and his family experienced a very different fate; for Murdoch, who had been ſent to the caſtle of Carleverock, ſtill remained a priſoner, and all his ſeats and ſtrong places were ſeized, eſpecially the caſtles of Falkland in the county of Fife, and Down, in that of Monteith; in the latter of them, was Iſabella, the Ducheſs, who with his ſecretaries, Alan Otterburn, and Sir John Montgomery, of a place of that name, were ſent to the caſtle of St. Andrews; but theſe gentlemen were within three days diſcharged from confinement. The Ducheſs was removed to the caſtle of Tantallon in Lothian; and the Earl of Lenox her father, then more than eighty years of age, was alſo arreſted, and kept a priſoner; ſo that the whole family of the late governor were in confinement, except his ſon James, who had been particularly noticed by the king; but he reſenting the misfortunes brought upon his family, and, inſtigated to revenge by Finlay, biſhop of Argyle, who had been ſecretary to the Duke his father, flew to arms, and with a body of men he had collected from the mountainous part of the kingdom, attacked the town of Dunbarton, which reſiſting him, he ſet fire to it upon holy-rood day, *i. e.* May 3, ſurprizing the governor, Sir John Stuart, called the "Red," a natural ſon of K. Robert II., (and who, a little before, had been amongſt the number of the impriſoned noblemen and others,) he not only put him to death, but thirty-two of thoſe likewiſe taken in the town; this was a moſt ill-judged and uſeleſs revolt, and the murders and deſolation it occaſioned, rendered the prepetators deſerving of the utmoſt puniſhment; but the ſtorm fell chiefly upon others, who at leaſt were in compariſon innocent;

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for the King, juſtly enraged at this open contempt of the royal authority, aſſembled ſuch a force, that Sir James found it impoſſible to withſtand; he therefore withdrew from the kingdom, and with his preceptor, the biſhop, (who merits the deteſtation of poſterity) took refuge in Ireland; but the ſovereign, who probably returned to his dominions with no prepoſſeſſion in favor of the Albany branch of his family, now determined to cut off thoſe whom he had in priſon, if convicted: he gave a commiſſion to many of the firſt noblemen in the kingdom, and certain conſiderable perſons of the higher gentry, to try the priſoners, ſomething in the nature of our Oyer and Terminer, a mode not unknown either to Scotland or England; for the former had no ſeparate Houſe of Peers at any time, all ſat in the ſame room, ſo that no exception could be taken againſt ſuch a jury: they were, Walter Stuart, Earl of Athol, uncle to the King, and brother to the Duke of Albany, of the half-blood; Archibald, Earl of Douglas; Alexander Stuart, Earl of Mar; William Douglas, Earl of Angus; William St. Clair, Earl of Orkney; Alexander, of the Iſles, Earl of Roſs; George Dunbar, Earl of March; James Douglas, of Abercorn, Lord Balveny; Robert Stuart, Lord Lorn; Sir John Montgomery, of Montgomery; Sir Gilbert de Hay, of Errol, conſtable of Scotland; Sir Thomas Somerville, of Somerville; Sir Herbert Herries, of Terregles; Sir James Douglas, of Dalkeith; Sir Robert Cunningham, of Kylmaur; Sir Alexander Levington, of Kalendar; Sir Thomas Hay, of Lochchorwart, or Yeſter; Sir William Borthwich, of Borthwich; Sir Patrick Ogilby, of Ouchterhouſe, ſheriff of Angus; Sir John Forreſter, of Corſtorphin; and, Sir Walter Ogilby, of Linthrathin. The illuſtrious perſons aſſembled at Stirling, whither the culprits were removed; the trials commenced with the utmoſt pomp and ſolemnity; the ſovereign preſiding in perſon, royally robed with his crown upon his head, and a ſcepter in his hand; on the eighth, (only five days after the violent death of Sir John Stuart), five of the accomplices in that murder were arraigned, condemned, and put to death as traitors; a fatal prognoſtic to the high-born priſoners of what they were to expect, if they were found

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guilty. It is not known what were the crimes alledged againſt them, as the records are not now in exiſtence; ſome have ſuppoſed, that the charge was for mal-practices during the regency of Murdoch; but that could not have affected the Earl of Lenox, I ſhould think, for though ſome counts might relate to the ill conduct of the Duke and his eldeſt ſons during that period, yet, as the third ſon had evidently not incurred the diſpleaſure of the ſovereign when he returned into his dominions, and the recent violences had involved them all in one general crime, I cannot ſuppoſe, but it was that which was chiefly inſiſted upon at their trial*; whatever it was, they were unanimouſly found guilty, and the royal mercy being refuſed, Sir Walter, and Sir Alexander, the Duke's two ſons, were, May 18, 1425, the day following their condemnation, led to the hill near Stirling Caſtle, and underwent their ſentence of decapitation; and the next day, their unhappy father and grandfather, (though the latter was of ſo great an age), alſo loſt their heads at the ſame place; their bodies were all buried in the church belonging to the monaſtery of the Black Friars in Sterling, on the ſouth ſide of the high altar; over the remains of theſe illuſtrious unfortunates were placed their effigies, and arms engraved in braſs; it is impoſſible to read their hiſtory, and not to feel great ſorrow for their miſerable and diſgraceful end; when neither their high rank, great honors and wealth, nor the venerable age of the one, or the youth of the others, could mollify the ſtern decrees of the law, or obtain the mercy of their ſovereign, and near relation. Murdoch has his great ſeal reſembling his father's, only upon the ſecond and third quarters in his paternal ſhield is a label.

Iſabella, wife of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, governor of Scotland, grandſon to K. Robert II.

The Duke married Iſabella, daughter and co-heireſs of Duncan, Earl of Lenox, whoſe death has juſt been mentioned; ſhe reſided at Down when it was taken, after which ſhe removed to Tentallon

* The Parliament upon the arreſting Duke Murdoch and his ſons, renewed the laws of K. David I. and K. Robert I. againſt leagues or aſſociations, abettors of the rebels, and leaſing-making; wherefore, ſome have thought their crimes were uniting in a bond with rebels againſt their ſovereign.

Iſabella, wife of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, governor of Scotland, grandſon of K. Robert II.

in Lothian, ſhe is always repreſented by the Scotch writer as a very high-ſpirited lady; her conduct greatly tended to involve her father, huſband, and ſons in one common ruin by the violence of her temper, which inſtigated them to acts derogatory to that duty they all owed to their ſovereign. Buchanan relates that it was reported that the King ſent her the heads of theſe her neareſt connections, to ſee what effect ſo horrible a ſight would have, and whether it would provoke her, through impatience, to reveal ſome ſecrets; but ſhe was no otherwiſe moved by ſuch a dreadful ſpectacle, than to ſay, "if the crimes objected againſt them were true, the King had done "juſtly, and according to law;" but this barbarous inſult to a female, ſeems only a popular report, which the author eagerly caught at, to ſink the character of James, from his well-known diſlike to the kingly office, and to the perſons and characters of ſovereigns. The ſettlement preceding her marriage, was ſigned at Inchmurin, a ſeat of her father, and dated February 17, 1391; by it the earldom of Lenox was to be veſted in the crown, and to be re-granted to Duncan, with a limitation to his heirs male, and upon failure to this lady, his daughter, and her heirs by Murdoch; remainder to the heirs of her father; but if there was male iſſue born to the Earl of Lenox, then he was to give 200 marks ſterling, for her fortune, to be paid at reaſonable times, as circumſtances ſhould happen; but as there was little probability of the Earl her father's having a ſon, he again ſurrendered the title to K. Robert III. who recognized it November 8, 1393, limiting it abſolutely to the heirs of this marriage, and this was renewed in 1411, by which the male heirs of the ancient family of Lenox was precluded from the ſucceſſion to the earldom, but ſhe, to gratify William Lord Graham, who held of that title in 1423, as preſumptive heireſs, confirmed and aſſured to him his lands: in this deed ſhe ſtiles herſelf "Iſabella "Stewart, Ducheſs of Albany, Counteſs of Fife and Monteith, "and heireſs of the earldom of Lenox;" expreſſing that the deed was executed with the conſent of Duke Murdoch, governor of the kingdom, and of their ſon Walter; notwithſtanding that both her father and huſband had been cut off for treaſon, ſhe was permitted

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to retain the earldom of the former, and the duchy of the other; a certain proof of the commiſeration of K. James I. for her, ſo contrary to what is related by Buchanan; of this the moſt indubitable proofs remain in her charters ſtill extant, dated in her widowhood. Her violence, we may ſuppoſe, was intirely broken by her almoſt unparalleled misfortunes; ſhe found conſolation only where it could be obtained in the boſom of religion; for in 1450, ſhe founded and endowed the magnificent collegiate church of Dunbarton, dedicated to St. Patrick, the patron of Ireland, who was ſuppoſed to be a native of Lenox; and three other churches in that county, Fintray, Strathbane, and Bonhill; ſhe alſo endowed the priory of Dominicans at Glaſgow, but with the conſent of Margaret, her ſurviving ſiſter, for the good of their ſouls, and thoſe of "her dear Lord "Murdoch of beloved memory;" their father, late Earl of Lenox, and her ſons, Walter, James, and Alexander, which deed is dated at Inchmurin, May 18, 1451; at the latter end of which year, or the beginning of the following, her ſorrows ceaſed, for ſhe then deſcended to the untimely graves of her relatives.

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The Iſſue of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, and Regent of Scotland, by Iſabella his Ducheſs.

Robert.

1. Robert, who died before his father; it is ſingular that the Ducheſs, his mother, forgot to have his ſoul prayed for in her religious foundations that have been mentioned, if ſhe had ſuch a ſon.

2. Sir Walter Stuart, who in 1421, was one of thoſe who were to have been given in hoſtage for the return of K. James I. if it had been permitted him to have reſided ſome time in his own dominions, as he was flattered he ſhould have been, when K. Henry V. of England came from France, to which kingdom he took the royal captive; but as the former died in France, the idea was laid aſide. This Prince has been greatly diſpraiſed by the pens of many of the

Issue of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, &c.

Scotch, for his undutiful conduct both to his father, and to his ſovereign; the effect of the conſpiracy againſt the King has been mentioned; and it is ſaid, that he failed ſo eſſentially in his behavior to Murdoch, that it cauſed him to recall the King from baniſhment, and reſtore him to the throne of his anceſtors; for meeting this ſon in returning from the ſports of the field, and having a favorite falcon upon his hand, the young Prince, after repeatedly aſking to have the bird, and being ſo conſtantly refuſed, ſo far forgot his reſpect, that ſeizing it, he wrung off its head, which ſo exaſperated the parent, that he ſaid, "if I cannot govern you, I will ſend for one to whom both you and I muſt ſubmit," and accordingly negotiated the King's reſtoration; but as I have proved that Murdoch had neither the power nor the will to effect that change, this appears a ſtory invented to make the Albany branch of the royal family odious, eſpecially when an hiſtorian ſpeaks of him as "poſ-"ſeſſing all the accompliſhments of perſon and mind:" another, "that he was tall of ſtature, extremely eloquent, and of the "greateſt condeſcenſion, ſo that he was beloved of all, and his "death was deplored, not only by thoſe who perſonally knew him, "but ſuch who were acquainted with his merit;" no wonder then that the ſpectators beheld his execution with a compaſſionate ſorrow *.

Sir James Stuart, Kt.

3. Sir James Stuart, ſurnamed the "Groſs," was highly favored and beloved by K. James I. for his peaceable deportment, and therefore not moleſted when his family were impriſoned; but either from levity or revenge for the confinement of his parent, and brothers, he was prevailed upon by Finlay, biſhop of Argyle, who had been ſecretary to the Duke of Albany, to aſſemble a deſperate ſet of outlaws and mountaineers, and May 3, 1425, he ſeized upon the town of Dunbarton, and ſet it on fire, where ſurprizing his majeſty's great uncle, Sir John Stuart, ſurnamed the "Red," he in-

* Fordon ſays that Sir Walter was tried, condemned, and executed; and the day following, his father, grandfather, and brother; but he is ſingular in his aſſertion.

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humanely put him to death; but finding himſelf declared are bel, and that he was unable to cope with the royal power ſent againſt him, he was obliged with that prelate, his governor, to fly into Ireland, and ſo attached were the Highlanders to the Albany branch, that very many followed him into that kingdom, where they ſoon obtained ſettlements; for which reaſon, all intercourſe was forbidden between Scotland and Ireland. Sir James died in or before 1451.

Sir Alexander Stuart, Kt.

4. Sir Alexander Stuart, who was the firſt that was knighted by K. James I. at his coronation; but joining with his family in their diſloyalty, he was arreſted, tried, convicted, and ſuffered death with his brother Walter: he is commended alſo for his tall fine perſon, great ſtrength, and obliging condeſcenſion. As neither of theſe brothers ever married, the legitimate branch of Albany periſhed in them; ſo injurious was that fatal ambition that ſwayed it: had Robert the regent been content with the ſecond place in the kingdom, his honors might long have remained in his family; but his criminal ambition led aſtray his poſterity from the duty that even the neareſt princes to the throne owe to the ſovereign, and by their attainder, the dukedom of Albany, with the earldoms of Fife, Monteith, and Lenox, together with many other great poſſeſſions, became forfeited to the monarch, whom this branch had ſo often deſpiſed, or pretended ſo to do; Robert had great talents for conducting the affairs of the ſtate, and though he obtained by indirect means the management of the kingdom, yet he ſtrove to make a compenſation for his uſurpation; but Murdoch, though equally ambitious and cruel, was ſlothful, rapacious, vindictive and violent: he was guided by folly, and diſgrace and ruin followed; but when the youth and accompliſhments of the Princes his ſons are conſidered, James I. ſeems to have been more guided by revenge and fear, than a love of juſtice and mercy.

Illegitimate branch of the Albany family, deſcended from Sir James Stuart, ſon of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, &c.

Though all the legitimate male offſpring of Murdoch were cut off, yet there was an illegitimate ſtem, that from their ſubſequent

Illegitimate branches of the Albany family, deſcended from Sir James Stuart, ſon of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, &c.

greatneſs deſerve particular mention. Sir James, the ſon of that Regent, by a lady of the Macdonalds in Ireland, left ſeven ſons, whom K. James II. compaſſionating, recalled, and conferred upon ſeveral of them great honors. Andrew, the eldeſt, he ſent into England to receive his education in one of the Univerſities; and upon his returning to Court, he was appointed Gentleman of the Bedchamber, knighted, and ſoon after created Baron Evandale, and a Lord Warden of the Eaſt Marches. K. James III. gave him ſtill higher marks of his regard; for upon his acceſſion, in 1640, he appointed him Lord High Chancellor of Scotland; and in the ſame year he was named one of the ambaſſadors to the Engliſh Court to renew the truce between the two nations, and alſo a Lord of the Regency in the minority of that ſovereign. In 1465 he was again appointed, with others, an ambaſſador to York, upon a buſineſs ſimilar to that upon which he had been in England before, and he was fortunate enough to obtain what he was ſent to effect: again, in 1469, he went into Denmark, accompanied with ſeveral other noblemen, biſhops, and the firſt perſons amongſt the gentry, to obtain a marriage, and which was brought to a happy concluſion. So greatly was James pleaſed with his ſervices, that ſoon after he received a grant of the Earldom of Lenox for life, and he obtained a patent under the Great Seal to legitimate himſelf and his brothers Arthur and Walter, with permiſſion to deviſe their eſtates as freely as if they had been born in wedlock. His ſteady and uniform attachment and fidelity to his ſovereign, as well during the time he held the ſeals, as afterwards, evinces how much he deſerved the confidence, and merited the favor, of that monarch: his death happened in 1488, nearly at the ſame time that the unhappy potentate fell by the hands of his rebellious ſubjects.

2. Sir Murdoch Stuart, who wrote himſelf "Steward of Albany, "knight, brother german to the high and powerful Sir Andrew, Lord Evandale;" ſo that it may be ſuppoſed that he was not born of the ſame mother: he died without iſſue. 3. Arthur; 4. Robert; and, 5. Alexander, called themſelves by the ſurname of

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Illegitimate branches of the Albany Family, deſcended from Sir James Stuart, ſon of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, &c.

Albany, in remembrance of the high title their anceſtors enjoyed: neither of theſe three had any ſons. 6. Walter Stuart, ſeated at Morphy, who left ſeveral children, the eldeſt of whom was Alexander, to whom Lord Evandale bequeathed that title and his fortune; but as the former was not allowed of by the Peers, the ſovereign, in 1503, conſidering his nearneſs in blood, and the worth of the Chancellor, ſolemnly inveſted him with the barony of Evandale in Parliament, and it was proclaimed by ſound of trumpet by the heralds, without the doors of the Houſe, a cuſtom then uſual, in creating Peers in the kingdom of Scotland: from him deſcends many noble families of the ſurname of Stuart or Stewart *. His ſon Andrew, Lord Evandale, exchanged that title for Ochiltree, by conſent obtained of the Crown. 7. James, ~~ſeated at~~ called Beg, from whom deſcends the Stewards of ~~Balderon~~ Baltrone and other places.

5. The eldeſt of the Regent Murdoch's daughters was married to Archibald Campbel, of Lockhow, Eſq.

6. Iſabel, the other daughter of that Duke, became the wife of Sir Walter Buchanan, of the place of that name, Knt.

* Of the families deſcended from the Lord Evandale were, the Baron Methven, who will be noticed in a future page; the Earls of Murray, the Lords St. Colme, now extinct; and the Stewarts of Kilbeg, and others.

PART II.

SECT. IV.

Alexander, Earl of Buchan, the third Son of K. Robert II.

ALEXANDER, Earl of Buchan, third ſon of K. Robert II. by Elizabeth, his firſt wife, had the Lordſhip of Badenoch given him by his royal father, to hold "as freely as Cummin had enjoyed it;" and in 1334, he had a grant of the Earldom of Buchan, and by his marriage he gained for life that of Roſs, forming together a very ample patrimony, of which he was very undeſerving, from his violent vindictive diſpoſition; expreſſive of which, he was called the "wolf of Badenoch." His conduct to Alexander Bar, Biſhop of Murray, ſhews he fully deſerved the epithet given him; for deſirous of augmenting his eſtates, he ſeized ſome of the lands of that prelate, and kept poſſeſſion, defending his uſurpation by arms; the Biſhop having tried what other methods would do, and finding them vain, at length, in May, 1390, excommunicated him: exaſperated at this, he aſſembled his retainers, and burnt the town of Forres, with the choir of that church, and the archdeacon's houſe: and in June following he burnt the town of Elgin, the church of St. Giles, the hoſpital of Maiſon Dieu, the cathedral church, called the lanthorn and ornament of the North of Scotland, with eighteen houſes of the canons in the college of Elgin. Such was his preſumption, that inſtead of retiring until he had obtained a pardon from the King his father, he repaired to his court, as if he had done only what was meritorious; but ſuch atrocious deeds againſt every thing that was ſacred and eſtimable, drew down upon him that vengeance his crimes deſerved; for his royal father, bowed down as he

Alexander, Earl of Buchan, third ſon of K. Robert II.

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Alexander, Earl of Buchan, third ſon of K. Robert II.

was, with age, and deſirous of ending his days in peace, ſhocked that the cloſe of his life was to be hurt by ſuch a daring infringement of the laws of his country, and that it ſhould proceed from the temerity of his ſon, ordered him to be apprehended and ſtrictly impriſoned; happily his brothers did not fly to arms to liberate him, or the kingdom muſt have been involved in a civil war; probably the outrages he had committed tended to haſten the death of the aged monarch; but however he might conduct himſelf with indifference in the commencement, he was moſt amply brought to ſubmiſſion, and that of the humbleſt kind poſſible; for he was obliged to bend to the ſtern decree of the church, and of the government: being conducted to Perth, he appeared barefooted and in ſackcloth at the door of the church of the Black Friars, and afterwards, in the ſame humiliating guiſe, came to the high altar, where were aſſembled the King and his nobles, before whom he was obliged to confeſs his offences, and promiſe a full reparation to the Biſhop and church of Murray, and obtain the Pope's pardon; and then Walter Trail, Biſhop of St. Andrew's, abſolved him from his flagitious crimes; but how far he complied with what was enjoined, and what he promiſed, is not known *. He did not long ſurvive this penance, dying (ſome ſay in priſon) Feb. 20, 1394; his body was buried in the middle aiſle of the choir of the cathedral church of Dunkeld; over his remains was his recumbent effigies in armor, with this inſcription upon the pedeſtal:

"*Hic jacet Dominus Alexander Seneſcallus Comes de Buchan &*
"*Dominus de Badenoch, bene memoriæ, qui obijt 20 die menſis Februarij,*
"*Anno Dom.* 1394."

The monument continued entire until the revolution, when a party of Angus's regiment were ſtationed there, and it was defaced by ſome of the ſoldiers; but it is mentioned as ſtill in being

* Biſhop Bar, who died in 1397, began the rebuilding of the church of Elgin, to which every canon contributed, as did every pariſh in the dioceſe.

by Mr. Pennant: as he had deſtroyed many churches, and that of Elgin, one of the fineſt ſtructures in Scotland, he did not deſerve any monument, much leſs to be called of "good memory."

Euphane, Counteſs of Alexander, Earl of Buchan, third ſon of K. Robert II.

Alexander married Euphane, eldeſt daughter and co-heireſs of William, Earl of Roſs, by his firſt lady, Iſabel, daughter of John, Earl of Caithneſs; which Euphane firſt married Sir Walter Leſley, ſecond ſon of Sir Andrew Leſley, of a place of that name; and whilſt his widow, ſhe re-married to Alexander, and, as by a deed of reſignation, and a renewed charter, the Earldom of Roſs, and the Lordſhip of Sky, (with ſome exceptions of land in the latter) was limited, by her father's deſire, to her and her heirs male and female, ſhe brought this Earldom to both her huſbands; but ſhe having a ſon, named Alexander, by her former huſband, he inherited the Earldom and Lordſhip after her deceaſe: by Alexander, Earl of Buchan, ſhe had no children.

Duncan, a natural ſon of Alexander, Earl of Buchan.

Though this Prince left no iſſue by his lady, he had a natural child, named Duncan, juſtly called "the fierce ſon of a fierce "father," who, in 1391, under pretence of revenging his father's quarrel with the Biſhop of Murray, invaded Angus with a conſiderable number of Highland freebooters, and ravaged and plundered it: alarmed for the ſafety of the country, Walter Ogilvy, its Sheriff, oppoſed him; but unfortunately Duncan prevailed againſt, and ſlew him, with Walter Leighton, and about ſixty of his followers. The Earl of Crawford was therefore diſpatched with an army to chaſtiſe his preſumption and puniſh his crimes, who diſperſed the rebels, putting many of them to the ſword; others were led to public execution; probably Duncan was either cut off, retired into Ireland, or the Iſles of Scotland, for his name occurs no more in hiſtory.

PART II.

SECT. V.

David, Earl of Strathern, eldeſt Son of the ſecond marriage of K. Robert II. with Q. Eupheme.

David, Earl of Strathern, eldeſt ſon of the ſecond marriage of Robert II. with Q. Eupheme.

DAVID, Earl of Strathern, was the eldeſt ſon of K. Robert II. by Eupheme, his ſecond wife; and who, upon his father's advancement to the throne, gave him Strathern, with a Palatinate power, to hold and to enjoy to him and his heirs male, as freely as it was poſſeſſed by Meliſe, the late Earl, or any of the preceding ones: the charter bears date July 9, 1371; and in the ſame, and the following month he obtained two others alſo under the Great Seal, granting to him the barony and caſtle of Urquhart, in the county of Inverneſs, with others in that of Perth; in 1376, and 1377, four more paſſed the Seal, giving him many other baronies and lands; in moſt of theſe he is called Sir David Seneſchal or Steward, Knight, Earl of Strathern, "our moſt beloved ſon." He makes no figure in the hiſtory of Scotland; of no one action of his have I ever read, nor is the time of his death noticed, or the family of his Counteſs; but her name was Eupheme.

His Counteſs.

The deſcendants of David, Earl of Strathern.

The iſſue of this marriage was a daughter of the ſame name, who took the title of Counteſs of Strathern; ſhe became the ſecond wife of Sir Patrick Graham, and who, in her ſuppoſed right, took the title of Earl of Strathern; he was killed, in 1413, by Sir John Drummond. The only child of this marriage was a ſon, named Meliſe, or Miles, who was as nearly allied to the

The Deſcendants of David, Earl of Strathern, eldeſt ſon of the ſecond marriage of K. Rob. II. with Q. Eupheme.

Crown, as to the misfortunes attendant upon it; for, when a youth, he was ſent an hoſtage into England, as a ſecurity for the payment of the money exacted for the maintenance of K. James I. whilſt detained at the Anglican Court; upon his return he had the mortification to be deprived of the Earldom of Strathern, becauſe it was diſcovered to be a male fief, and conſequently that neither his mother nor himſelf were juſtly entitled to it*; however, as a compenſation for the loſs ſuſtained by this reſumption, a grant paſſed, September 6, 1428, of the Earldom of Monteith; but this did not ſatisfy his family; his uncle Graham was ſo much exaſperated at the loſs of Strathern, that he conſpired, and effected the death of K. James I. though that ſovereign was juſtified in depriving Meliſe of it. Monteith was long in the family. William, the ſeventh Earl of that title, attempted to vindicate his claim to that of Strathern. This nobleman, ſo nearly related to the throne, died in 1492, at a very advanced age, leaving by Ann, his Counteſs, daughter of Henry, Earl of Oxford, (with whom he was probably captivated, whilſt a priſoner in England) three ſons, from the eldeſt of whom deſcended many peers of the titles of Monteith and Airth; but William, the ninth who enjoyed them, having no child, ſurrendered up thoſe titles, with his eſtates, to the Marquis, afterwards Duke, of Montroſe, deſcended from Sir Patrick Graham, Earl of Strathern, by a prior marriage of his, to that with the daughter of Prince David, Earl of Strathern, ſon to K. Robert II. and Q. Eupheme; a peculiar hardſhip, when there were ſo many remaining of the

* It is moſt natural to ſuppoſe K. James I. acted equitably, though probably not politically, in reſuming the Earldom of Strathern; for William, the ſeventh Earl of Monteith, in 1639, under pretence that his anceſtor had been unjuſtly deprived of Strathern, obtained from K. Charles I. a patent to reſume the title; but that monarch was ſo well convinced that he had been impoſed upon, that he deprived him of both the Earldoms of Strathern and Monteith; but his Majeſty was afterwards prevailed upon to create his Lordſhip Earl of Airth, and at length reſtored him to the title of Monteith.

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The deſcendants of David, Earl of Strathern, eldeſt ſon of the ſecond marriage of K. Rob. II. with Q. Euphemia.

offſpring of the Princeſs, his daughter, on whoſe account the Grahams had obtained theſe honors; the direct repreſentative of whom was ſprung from her ſecond ſon, called for his valor "Sir John Graham with the bright ſword," a branch more diſtant was ennobled by K. James VII. but his title of Viſcount Preſton was loſt for his adherence to that unfortunate monarch.

PART II.

SECT. VI.

Walter, Earl of Athol, ſecond Son of K. Robert II. by Queen Eupheme.

WALTER, ſecond ſon of the ſecond marriage of K. Robert II. was created in 1375, Earl of Athol, and afterwards were added the earldoms of Strathern and Caithneſs; we know nothing of him during the regencies of the Dukes of Albany, his brother and nephew, except that he was one of thoſe who ſwore to the treaty of peace between Scotland and France, which was concluded during the government of the former; perhaps the little authority he obtained in the Scottiſh court, might occaſion him to ſeek employment in that of England, for, in April, 1421, he accompanied the Earl of Douglas to London, when that nobleman went to offer his ſervices to the victorious Henry V. How long he remained does not appear; but upon the return of K. James I. his nephew of the half-blood, he was highly truſted by him; for, in 1424, he was appointed a conſervator of the truce with England, and was one of the Princes who was named a truſtee or auditor, to ſuperintend the collection of the taxes to be raiſed in that year for the ſupport of government, and to aſſiſt in paying off the ſum of money due to the Engliſh; and ſo highly did K. James confide in him, that he was the firſt commiſſioner of thoſe named to judge his half-brother, the unfortunate Duke of Albany and his ſons. In 1431, he was again named a conſervator of the truce then renewed with England, to continue from May 1, in that year, until May 1, 1437. Yet all theſe favors, and all the confidence which his ſovereign repoſed in him, could neither win his affection, nor ſecure his fidelity, but either

Walter, Earl of Athol, ſecond ſon of K. Robert II. and Q. Eupheme.

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Walter, Earl of Athol, ſecond ſon of K. Robert II. and Q. Eupheme.

diſguſted with the monarch for depriving his nephew, Graham, of the earldom of Strathern, or ſeduced from his duty by liſtening to ſome of thoſe deceiving people, who then were ſo often implicitly believed, from their pretenſions to a knowledge of futurity, and who had told him he ſhould one day wear a crown, that he joined with Robert Graham *, the uncle, and governor of young Graham, to ſurprize, and put the King to death, which they effected, by collecting a body of lawleſs men, who, with them, came to the convent of Perth, where the ſovereign was in a defenceleſs ſtate, having diſbanded his army; the conſpirators, aſſiſted by this Prince's grandſon and heir, Robert Stuart, a gentleman of the bedchamber, and confidential domeſtic about the perſon of the monarch, obtained their entrance into the monaſtery with greater eaſe, and falling upon the King, unheedful of their duty, of pity to him, or of compaſſion to his Queen who clung round him, and received ſeveral wounds in defending him, left him dead, pierced with twenty-eight wounds; but this parricide, perpetrated in November, 1437, inſtead of anſwering the deſign intended, involved the guilty wretches who effected it in the moſt grievous misfortunes, and ſuch as ſeemed even to exceed the crime they had committed, heinous as it was. It is impoſſible to ſay why the heads of the conſpiracy did not avow openly for what reaſon they had deprived their ſovereign of life, and if Walter had any expectation of the crown, that he did not mention his claim; though how he could ground it is next to impoſſible to ſuppoſe, for if any objection could have been raiſed againſt the legality of K. Robert II.'s firſt marriage, or the iſſue he had by Elizabeth, yet Robert Graham, the young Earl of Monteith, would have been the heir in that caſe to the crown, as the repreſentative of David, Earl of Strathern, the eldeſt ſon of the marriage of that potentate with Queen Eupheme How far he

* Robert Graham the elder, one of the conſpirators, was brother of the full-blood to Sir Patrick Graham, Earl of Strathern, and ſon of Sir Patrick Graham, by his ſecond wife, Eupheme, daughter of Sir John Stuart of Railſton, a brother of K. Robert II. ſo that he was ſecond couſin of K. James I. and firſt couſin one remove to Prince Walter, Earl of Athol, the other great conſpirator.

Walter, Earl of Athol, ſecond ſon of K. Robert II. and Q. Eupheme.

might plan a ſcheme of ſeating the minor upon the throne, and governing in his name until he ſaw a proper time to take him off, or depoſe him, to make way for himſelf, is impoſſible to determine; but whatever was the plan, the general odium of the nation forbade his putting it in practice; for, as if they had been defeated in their project, they fled in conſternation inſtead of defending the action, or avowing why they had done it. The eagerneſs with which all ſtrove to ſeize the heads of the conſpiracy, was crowned with all the ſucceſs they could hope. David, his grandſon, with the elder Graham *, who alone of his family were guilty, were all brought back within forty days, to undergo all the puniſhment that a people, who grieved for the loſs of a King whom they revered as a common parent, could inflict; and they ſuffered death with all the pain and ignominy that it was poſſible to inflict, the particulars of which are too painful to relate, without cautioning the merciful reader, that he may, if he wiſhes it, avoid the horrid relation, by omitting to read the note at the bottom of this and the following page †. Perhaps the conſtant odium that the Scotch nation have

* Graham fled to Athol, whoſe woods he was well acquainted with; but the Laird of Strowan, Robertſon, purſued and took him, for which he had an augmentation to his arms of a man vanquiſhed chained, of which only five inſtances are found in the Scottiſh heraldry, and thoſe bearings are all of ennobled families; that Laird was alſo rewarded with lands in Athol and Bwadalbin, which poſſeſſions, ſays Abercrombie, are ſtill retained by the Lairds of Strowan.

† I give this verbatim from Guthrie, who ſays, "Abercrombie, and other Scotch hiſtorians, relate the ſignal puniſhment inflicted on the murderers with great delight; but it is too diſagreeable a ſubject to enter into the body of general hiſtory;" and then gives the words of Abercrombie, which are, "I am ſorry that I cannot inform my readers by whom the Earl of Athol himſelf, and the reſt of the murderers, were apprehended; but we are ſure that ſo much diligence was uſed, that within leſs than forty days all the conſpirators were brought to Edinburgh, arraigned, condemned, and executed. The meaner ſort of them, ſuch as Chriſtopher Clawn, or Cahorn, were hanged on gibbets; but the Earl himſelf, his grandchild, Robert Stuart, and couſin Graham, were proceeded againſt with unprecedented ſeverity, being juſtly adjudged to exquiſite torments, and new kinds of deaths. Some part of three days was ſpent in the execution of Athol: on the firſt he was ſtripped naked to his ſhirt,

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ever expreſſed for the Earl of Athol's character, is the reaſon why we know of no other particular relative to his family, only that he had a grandſon by a ſon.

ſet in a moving cart, where, a crane being fixed, his body was often lifted up by a pulley to a great height, and ſhewed to the ſpectators for ſome time, then ſuddenly let fall almoſt to the ground; by which means his members were miſerably disjointed, and his life preſerved for more ſhame, and no leſs pain; for on the ſecond day he was placed on a pillar in the view of the people, and a crown of hot iron ſet on his head, with this inſcription: 'Here ſtands the King of Traitors.' Thus was his oracle accompliſhed. On the third, being placed on an hurdle, he was dragged by horſes through the high ſtreet to the place of execution, where being laid on a plank, firſt his bowels, then his heart, was pulled out, and thrown into a fire. Laſtly, his head being cut off, was fixed on a pole in the moſt eminent place of the city, and his body ſent in quarters to the four chief towns in the kingdom.

"Robert Stuart being but a young man, and therefore the more eaſily ſeduced by the influence of a grandfather, was uſed more mildly; yet though he was ſo nearly related to the Royal family, had not the honor of being beheaded, like a perſon of quality, but as one of the meaneſt of the people, was hanged and quartered. His quarters were alſo ſet up in different towns, as ſpectacles for the people to gaze at.

"Robert Graham, the grand executioner, though not the chief contriver, of the whole villany, was uſed as his crime deſerved; and I am heartily ſorry that any one of that ſurname, to whoſe loyalty and proweſs that nation is, upon ſo many other accounts, very much indebted, ſhould have deſerved ſo rigorous treatment. He was firſt dragged through the ſtreets in a cart backwards; then his hands (thoſe ſacrilegious hands which he had lifted up againſt his Royal maſter, the Lord's anointed) being faſtened in iron hooks, and fixed in a gibbet in the ſame cart, the moſt fleſhy parts of his naked body, particularly thoſe that are moſt remote from the vitals or ſprings of life, as the legs, thighs, and ſhoulders, were ſeared by three executioners with burning pincers, and leiſurely burnt to the very bones. This done, his body was cut in quarters, and diſpoſed of as thoſe of his accomplices. Such was the natural boldneſs or ferocity of this perverſe man, that being aſked how he durſt offer to kill his ſovereign, he made anſwer, even when he was under the extremity of pain, and very near breathing out his laſt, 'That he durſt leap out of Heaven and all its joys into the torturing flames of hell;' yet he is by others ſaid to have made this excuſe for himſelf, that being outlawed and baniſhed by the King, he ceaſed to be his ſubject; as if the puniſhment of former crimes could make after-ones lawful, or the ceaſing to be a good ſubject entitled one to be a ſovereign; or rather, as if rebellion gave right to commit murder, parricide, ſacrilege, &c. Such a villanous excuſe was ſo

ſo far from taking with the people, that the following rhime, deſigned to expreſs their abhorrence of the fact, became a proverb among them:

Robert Graham,
That ſlew our King,
God give him ſhamen.

Æneas Sylvius, the Pope's Nuncio in Scotland at that time, and who himſelf was made Pope ſome years after, ſaw thoſe dreadful executions with ſome horror, but more admiration; and ſaid, 'That he was at a loſs to determine whether the crime committed by the regicides, or the puniſhment inflicted upon them by the juſtice of the nation, was the greateſt.' And this, I take it, is a convincing proof that the nation was very free from the leaſt imputation of guilt." *Abercromby*, Vol. II. I cannot but add to this long note that I have entirely borrowed, that it is my earneſt prayer that Britain may never again experience ſuch a crime or ſuch puniſhments! both are juſtly diabolical and deteſtable.

PART III.

Robert III. King of Scotland.

THIS Prince had the baptiſmal name of John, but either from the unfortunate reigns of ſeveral Kings in Europe ſo called, or out of regard to the memories of his father and great-grandfather, the valiant Bruce, he exchanged it for that of Robert; but the commonalty were pleaſed to term him Robert John Fernzier, or of the foregoing year.

It is not exactly known in what year he was born, though it is generally ſuppoſed it was before 1235; it might be deſignedly to hide the want of decorum in his parents, in their refuſing to wait until their marriage could be ſolemnized ſuitable to their high rank, for, as I have before remarked, it is probable he was born before they were canonically married; however as that ceremony was afterwards performed, it was ſufficient to legitimize him*. The canon law, from its humanity, has much to recommend it, and every age is at liberty to retain, or reject, what appears to them moſt proper. It is evident from the hiſtory and records of Scotland, that this prince was adjudged his father's heir apparent, by the nation, by K. David II. and by his own family; nor was it ever diſputed

* I cannot but here remark that in the upper part of Eſkdale, the ſingular cuſtom of handfiſting has not been diſuſed more than a century: the young people of both ſexes aſſembling at an annual fair, held at the conflux of the White and Black Eſk, retired in pairs, cohabited until the next fair, and then, if they approved of their choice, the prieſt, called "Book in boſom," from his carrying a book always for baptizing and marrying, united them together for life: if one repented, the produce of their commerce was adjudged to him, or her, and each was at liberty to go to "handfiſting" again, but the children of thoſe that married were legitimated.

by any foreign nation, not even by the Engliſh, who never admitted the canon law reſpecting marriages, though they certainly would have been highly gratified to have raiſed objections, ſo that the ſucceſſion might again have been diſputed*. However at the coronation of K. Robert II. the Parliament being aſſembled, an act paſſed March 27, 1371, in which his own right of ſucceſſion, as eſtabliſhed by King Robert I. was confirmed, and this prince, as heir apparent to the crown, was, in the moſt ſolemn and awful manner acknowledged, each perſon, with hands lifted up, declaring their ſincerity, promiſed *bona fide* for themſelves, their lawful heirs, and ſucceſſors, to eſteem him their King, upon his royal parent's death, and, as ſuch, defend him againſt all manner of perſons; and, April 4, 1373, another Parliament, which aſſembled at Scone, confirmed this his right, and enacted that all the ſons of K. Robert, by both his wives, ſhould ſucceed to the throne, in caſe the others died failing of lawful iſſue†; but all of them thus failing, the true and lawful heirs of the blood and ſtock royal, from thence forward ſhould ſucceed in the kingdom, and the right of reigning; as the former of theſe acts has the ſeals of 51 ſpiritual and temporal Peers, and the latter the great ſeal appendant, with the ſeals of the eldeſt Princes, as being of age, and forty-one of the Prelates, Earls, and Barons; amongſt whom were ſome who had claims upon the ſucceſſion, in caſe of failure of deſcendants from their ſovereign; and as K. Ro-

* It is true, the Engliſh Court would not acknowledge Robert II. as King of Scotland upon his acceſſion; but then the Kings of England were accuſtomed to treat the ſucceſſors of Baliol as uſurpers, as they alſo did thoſe of France after K. Edward III. claimed that Crown, generally calling the Sovereigns of thoſe kingdoms, in all their public acts, their "adverſary of Scotland and France," or after naming one of them, as ſtiling himſelf King of Scotland or France.

† It is remarkable that though each of the ſons of K. Robert II. are particularly named in the ſecond Act of Succeſſion, no notice whatever is taken of any one of his daughters; perhaps there being ſo many males, it was thought improbable that they ſhould all fail in leaving poſterity; and if they had, the daughters, or their heirs, could have claimed under the general words, as neareſt to the ſtock or blood royal—however, had they been named, it would have aſcertained their ſeniority, which is not known.

PART III. K. Robert III.

bert's ſecond wife was then living, it cannot be ſuppoſed the leaſt ſcruple was entertained againſt the legitimacy of this Prince; but the reaſon of theſe public acts were, as the latter of them expreſſes it, becauſe he was deſirous to avoid to the utmoſt of "his power "the uncertainty of ſucceſſion, which had formerly happened to "moſt kingdoms and parts, and for him and his, as much as may "be, to prevent it for the future." Such acts had always taken place in every kingdom, eſpecially when the Crown had gone into a new family, and as the right of inheritance was not ſo well defined as at preſent, it was the more neceſſary. Scotland had ſmarted for want of it, and Robert I. for that reaſon had done it*.

In his youth he was called John of Kyle; and he was firſt named in the number of the eldeſt ſons of the higheſt noblemen in Scotland, who were demanded by, and given as hoſtages to, K. Edward III. for ſecuring the payment of K. David's ranſom; but his father releaſed him from captivity in 1358, by paying a large ſum of money, in part of the debt, and exchanged him for his grandſon; he was received by the King, his great-uncle, with affection, for ſoon afterwards he granted the earldom of Athol to him, and his wife, by the ſtile of "his beloved couſin, John Steuart, eldeſt "ſon to Robert Steuart, of Scotland, his nephew, and Annabel

* I cannot but here obſerve, that K. Robert II.'s contemporary, K. Edward III. after the death of the Prince of Wales, his ſon, alſo ſolemnly in Parliament declared the ſucceſſion to belong to his grandſon, Richard, the only child of the deceaſed; perhaps theſe caſes were parallel, Edward knew the daring ambition of his ſon, the Duke of Lancaſter, and the danger his grandſon might experience: Robert was aware of the weak and infirm ſtate of his heir apparent, and of the activity, capacity, and boundleſs ambition of his ſecond ſon. It is well known what futile arguments had been uſed by Princes of the blood royal when opportunities offered to ſeize the ſcepter; in theſe ages every nation had witneſſed them, and few more than the Britiſh; and among many others, whether the ſon born before his father was a King, ought to ſucceed in preference to one born afterwards, becauſe one, they repreſented, was the ſon of a private perſon only, whilſt the other was born the ſon of a Sovereign; well, then, might Robert, the firſt King of his houſe, be deſirous to have his Parliament ſettle or ratify the ſucceſſion.

" Drummond, his ſpouſe, or the longeſt liver of them;" and ſome years afterwards he gave him, with the conſent of the Parliament, the earldom of Carric; and at his father's ſucceſſion he was appointed to the high hereditary office of Steward of the kingdom: he was alſo conſtituted a Commiſſioner for treating of peace with England, who deputed the Earl of Lancaſter to meet him. A kick which he received from a horſe belonging to Sir James Douglas, of Dalkeith, incapacitated him from taking any military department for ſeveral years preceding his father's death: in 1385 he received 5,500 livres of the ſum ſent to the Scottiſh Court by France. He was crowned at Scone Auguſt 13, 1390, when more than fifty years of age; his name only marks a period in the hiſtory of Scotland, for all power was veſted in his more active and robuſt brother, who was his prime miniſter; he is repreſented as religious and amiable in private life, but it is evident he was criminally indolent; his life in thoſe military days muſt have been wretchedly ſpent; few were the pleaſures then to be obtained, except ſuch as only the ſtrong and healthy could partake of; bowed down by years, infirmities, and great domeſtic misfortunes, he ſurrendered himſelf a victim to that tyrant, who is the terror of the fortunate, but the conſolation of the wretched, at his Caſtle of Bothſay, in the Iſle of Bute, (a part of his family inheritance) March 29, 1405, forgotten alike by his ſubjects, and by the neighbouring nations, after a reign of nearly fifteen years: whilſt he ſat upon the throne proſperity bleſſed his people, owing to his moderation and clemency at home, and the valor and proweſs of his brother, the Duke of Albany, abroad. He is ſaid to have been a very handſome man, when young: his great ſeal, which is very rudely wrought, gives him with a long beard; his cognizance was a ſcepte in ſattire through a coronet, over which was an orb or mound with an aveline croſs, and for a motto, *His ornari, aut mori.* The body of King Robert III. was interred in the abbey church of Paiſley.

The Queen of K. Robert III.

Annabel, Queen of K. Robert III.

King Robert married Annabel, the beautiful daughter of Sir John Drummond, of Stob-Hall, anceſtor of the earls of Perth; and was crowned with her huſband: ſhe died in 1401, poſſeſſing "exemplary virtue and prudence." Her death was a moſt ſevere misfortune to the kingdom, and to her family; eſpecially the King, who could neither manage the reſtleſs temper of his brother, the Duke of Albany, nor reſtrain the youthful extravagancies of his eldeſt ſon, who broke through the decorum he had maintained whilſt ſhe lived, and which in the end was made a pretence to deſtroy him; the courtiers were grieved at her loſs, as the ſplendor of majeſty viſible in the palace became by her death extinguiſhed.

The iſſue of K. Robert III. by Q. Annabel.

Children of K. Robert III. and Q. Annabel.

1. David, eldeſt ſon of K. Robert III. was born in the year 1378; and in 1398 he was created Duke of Rothſay*, and Earl of Athol and Carric; it muſt be remarked, that he was the firſt of the Scotch Princes who had the title of Duke, and which was given him that he might be upon an equality with the ſons of England, who now were advanced to that dignity. In 1397 he, and John, Duke of Aquitaine and Lancaſter, met, each attended by a Biſhop, an

* The reaſon why Rothſay was fixed as the title for the Princes of Scotland was, becauſe it was the moſt ancient reſidence of the Stuart family, they poſſeſſing the Iſle of Bute, in which Rothſay is ſituated, for many ages; the caſtle was a favorite ſeat of Robert III. It is now in ruins; except a ſmall part, Bute is poſſeſſed by the Earl of that title, whoſe anceſtor was a natural ſon of K. Robert II. as has been, in another place, obſerved; but Rothſay is ſtill retained as a title appropriated to the heir apparent of the Crown of Scotland, and to which they are born, and is now uſed as ſuch by the Prince of Wales.

Earl, two Clerks, two Bachelors, and an Eſquire, when the truce between the two kingdoms was prolonged, and it was agreed that the priſoners on both ſides ſhould be delivered up without ranſom; but as the truce was ill kept; and thoſe in whoſe power the priſoners were, refuſed to reſtore them to liberty; the Commiſſioners of the two nations agreed that theſe illuſtrious Princes ſhould meet again, to effect what they had before intended; and, in the enſuing year, they had a conference as before, upon the borders, when a continuation of the truce was fixed to remain until Michaelmas 1399. The Duke of Lancaſter dying ſoon after, and his eldeſt ſon Henry depoſing his Sovereign, Richard II., the Duke of Rothſay was ſo ſhocked at his uſurpation, that in a letter which he wrote to France, (and which fell into Henry's hands) he ſtiled him a traitor; in revenge for this, that King determined to invade Scotland, and flattered himſelf that from the inability of K. Robert, and the divided ſtate of the royal family, he ſhould be able to make a conqueſt of the whole kingdom; placing himſelf therefore at the head of a moſt gallant army, he marched into Scotland, treating the people as ſubjects, whom he came to protect, rather than as an enemy or a conqueror, and met with little or no oppoſition. David, who knew it was impoſſible for his father to act, with ſome hundreds of the nobility ſhut himſelf up in Edinburgh Caſtle, reſolving to make as vigorous a defence as poſſible, and which he effected, notwithſtanding the attempt of the Engliſh monarch to obtain poſſeſſion of it; to whom he wrote, complaining of two indecent letters which had been ſent to the King his father, reflecting upon that Sovereign and his nobility; in it he called him nothing but his "adverſary of "England," and concluded it with offering, to ſave the ſpilling of "Chriſtian blood, to fight him in perſon, with only three, two, or "even one hundred noblemen of each ſide;" to this Henry coldly anſwered, that "he was ſurprized the Duke of Rothſay ſhould con-"ſider noble blood as not being Chriſtian, ſince he deſired the "effuſion of one, and not of the other." The mortification of the Prince muſt have been great to perceive himſelf ſhut up within a fortreſs, by an enemy that aſſumed the ſtile of his ſovereign, more

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than that of a neighbouring King, carrying on a war againſt the dominions of his parent; and his grief muſt have been the more poignant, when his uncle, the Duke of Albany, who commanded a powerful army, refuſed to fulfil his engagement in attacking the Engliſh; by which means the Prince ſeemed left to his fate; but no argument or force could make him yield, and Henry finding that his obſtinate valor defeated all his attempts, agreed to a truce; haſtening back to quell the dangerous inſurrection which had juſt broken out in Wales. The conduct of David muſt have won him the hearts of all Scotland, eſpecially when contraſted with that of the Duke of Albany, who meant to have ſacrificed him; but this greatly tended to heighten the mutual diſobligations between them. In 1441, the death of the Queen, of the Earl of Douglas, and of the Biſhop of St. Andrews, broke down the barrier that had reſtrained their anger, and kept them from an open breach. There was now a conteſt for the ſovereign power, for the King remained, as he long had been, a cypher; David, as his heir apparent, looked upon himſelf as juſtly intitled to govern in his name, as he was incapable of doing it himſelf; but Albany, long accuſtomed to rule, could not ſubmit to take that ſituation in the State, which the duty he owed both to his Sovereign and to the Prince demanded.— Soon after this quarrel had become public, the Prince knowing his uncle's power, and that he could not look to the King his father for protection, determined to ſeek an aſylum in St. Andrew's, though defenceleſs, owing to the See being vacant; but in his way thither, the Duke of Albany, and his brother-in-law, the Earl of Douglas, ſurpriſed him, and after an arreſt, the latter took from him his ſword, and he was obliged to exchange his ſplendid dreſs for a mean ruſſet cloak, and to mount a ſorry horſe, and in that guiſe to be conducted to the place, where he hoped to have found a ſhelter from his danger; from thence he was removed to the Caſtle of Falkland, belonging to his uncle: here he is ſaid to have endured hardſhips that make human nature ſhudder; for though it is acknowledged that he had, at leaſt at firſt, an apartment ſuitable to his high rank, yet he ſoon was denied the neceſſaries of life, and left to die with

hunger; for the Deputy Governor deprived him of all ſuſtenance; but for ſome time his wretched life was prolonged; the dreadful and piercing cries of hunger, which pervaded the apartments of the place, melted the hearts of the governor's daughter, a young lady, and a matron near, who daily relieved him, the former by taking him oaten cakes, concealed under a veil, which ſhe wore under pretence of defending her from the rays of the ſun; and, when going by that part of the caſtle where he was confined, ſliding them through the chinks of the wall, which admitted a feeble light into his apartment; and the other, who was a nurſe, contrived to give him milk from her breaſts, conveyed by a tube; but as the Cerberus could not long be thus deceived, he cauſed the place to be watched, and diſcovering to whoſe humanity the priſoner's ſufferings were prolonged, he had the ferocious ſavageneſs to put them to death, though one was his own child; no perſon therefore afterwards was hardy enough to obey the dictates of compaſſion, and the princely captive, after feeding upon his own fleſh, ſoon periſhed. This relation is given by the enemies of the Duke: on the contrary, his friends urge, that as the King permitted the Prince to be arreſted, and gave that power to the Duke, he could not be blamed for uſing the authority delegated to him; and though ſome allow he died in confinement, yet they are not ſatisfied that it was by violence; for, ſay they, no cotemporary author mentions ſuch a circumſtance; but if they had, as the Duke ſubmitted to a trial, and was acquitted, and was even deſirous of having the authors of his death puniſhed, and that he actually had the culprits executed, ſo it freed him from all obloquy: neither of theſe claſſes of authors lament his death, only the manner of it; becauſe his conduct was ſo reprehenſible, that his brother-in-law, as well as his uncle, were concerned in his diſgrace, though it muſt have been to the intereſt of the Earl of Douglas that the Kings of Scotland ſhould deſcend from his ſiſter, the wife of the Prince. In anſwer to theſe arguments, it muſt be obſerved, that I do not find any proof that the King did give a commiſſion to impower his uncle to have the Prince arreſted; but if ſuch had been, who prejudiced him againſt his ſon? and, in whoſe

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power was the weak infirm monarch? certainly he did not permit that his ſon ſhould be diſgraced, and dragged to priſon as a mean culprit, much leſs agree to have him undergo miſeries which the worſt of priſoners never experienced. That he died in priſon cannot be denied, the fact is incontrovertible, and in the caſtle that belonged to Albany; and when an heir apparent dies in the cuſtody of an ambitious Prince, who has great power, and is not far removed from the Crown, it muſt always raiſe ſuſpicions that are difficult to remove: his Deputy Governor of Falkland Caſtle would not have dared to have put the Heir Apparent of the Crown to death, unleſs he had been inſtigated to it by his employer; that Albany ſhould ſo far forget every principle of humanity as to let him die of hunger, when his dreadful cries would laſt for days, and by that mean proclaim his nefarious wickedneſs to all within, and near the caſtle, where he periſhed, is ſeemingly incredible; ſelf-intereſt, if not compaſſion, would have prevented ſo wanton a cruelty; but it muſt be remarked, that if he had told his ſervant to put him to death, without mentioning in what way, the wretch might pleaſe his cruelty in the manner that is mentioned, though it was highly impolitic to have done it: ſuch tranſactions the hiſtory of every nation preſents; and though the relators mention always the preciſe manner, yet every one knows that nothing is more difficult to obtain than the truth: how it was effected in this inſtance, however, the trials of the offenders might be ſuppoſed to afford a full proof. It has been ſaid that the contemporary authors have not criminated Albany; but is it uſual for writers to accuſe thoſe veſted with the government, of the moſt flagitious crimes? Does any writer dare to give a true relation of the death of the late Emperor? Winton, who lived at the time, ſays, the Prince was worn out by a dyſentery, or by hunger; if by hunger, whoſe fault was it? Who was to ſupply him with food? Beſides, the Regent Albany was the friend and patron of Winton. But the Harleian M.SS. of Fordun, and his continuator Bower himſelf, ſays that he wrote in 1441, and which is confirmed by the manuſcript called The Black Book of Paiſley, carried by Lord Fairfax from Scotland. That K. Robert judged Albany guilty of his ſon's death, appears

from his permitting him to be tried for the crime, and by his ſending his other ſon out of the kingdom, which undeniably ſhews his fear for the ſafety of the youngeſt Prince; for nothing but imminent danger, or the fear of it, could induce a father to ſend his then only ſon to a foreign court for protection; and of whom could he be afraid, but his ambitious brother? As to Albany's ſubmitting to trial, and his acquittal, theſe are no proofs of innocence; what riſk does that Prince run in going to his trial, who has the command of the kingdom? He feared it no more than Bothwell did his. Nor does his bringing forth the actual perpetrators of the wickedneſs, and giving them up to juſtice, exculpate him from having ordered them to do the deed: there are ways of deſiring ſuch acts to be performed, that the perpetrators themſelves cannot bring any proof of; and as to any regard that ſuch inſtigators have for the tools of their bad actions, that is out of the queſtion; the traitor is always hated; and throwing the blame upon them, to ſatisfy the people, is what has been frequently practiſed. There ſeems to have been no proof of the diſſoluteneſs of manners in the Prince, to juſtify his impriſonment, much leſs to put him to death: he had ſhewed himſelf a good negociator and patriot; he has been accuſed of violating maids, wives, and nuns; but one intrigue "only" is ſpecified; few Heirs Apparent, few Princes would be deemed fit to go free if ſuch a plea was urged as a reaſon for detention; but inſtead of the gallantries of the Prince being the reaſon of his impriſonment, ſome lay it to the villany of John Ramorgny, who, having told him that the Duke his uncle intended to deſtroy him, promiſed to prevent it by taking him off; but this David objecting to, the wretch told the ſame ſtory to Albany, who, to ſave himſelf, puniſhed his nephew. If this is true, it unravels the affair, and clears the Prince's character; even highly raiſes it, by ſhewing himſelf ſuperior to a deceitful violence, even againſt an enemy, whom he was led to ſuſpect of baſeneſs towards him. The Duke's character finds no protection from the Earl of Douglas's aſſiſting in arreſting David, for the manner of doing it ſhewed in that nobleman a particular deſign to add cruelty to inſult: that court intrigue ſhould make

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Douglas declare for the uncle in preference to the nephew, is nothing wonderful; his was a family not always loyal, or always guided by juſtice, as the hiſtory of many reigns convinces us. The Prince having arrived at manhood, eclipſed Albany both in the civil and military department, and by that means rendered him almoſt a cypher, therefore the moment he ſaw his rival defenceleſs, by the deaths of three perſons who only could protect him, either with an extorted commiſſion, or without one, forcibly ſeized upon, and ſent him a priſoner to his own caſtle, under the command of one of his creatures, in whoſe power he miſerably periſhed; but finding the King and his ſubjects loudly demanding juſtice, he ſubmitted to a mock trial, and permitted the perſons whom he employed to be led to execution; that they might by their ſacrifice free him from all appearance of having commanded them, by indirect means, to rid him of a dangerous rival, an active Prince, who, by his birth and abilities, would have poſſeſſed himſelf of what the laws of his country gave him, and whoſe penetration would have taught him that his father's prerogatives had been uſurped by an artful and ambitious brother; who, it muſt be confeſſed, at every period of his life ſhewed a boundleſs ambition, which continued to him until his death; and who, if he did not aim at the Crown, was determined never to quit poſſeſſion of the ſceptre *. That David, with all his virtues, might be too much devoted to the pleaſures of ſenſuality, I will not deny, though I am far from having proofs of it, but an honeſt abhorrence of duplicity towards a formidable rival (ſkilled in all the wiles of courts), and ſome degree of raſhneſs, ſo

* The Duke of Albany was undoubtedly ambitious to the extreme, and as able as ambitious, his nephew's inexperience therefore ſtood little chance in a conteſt between them; the former, it is allowed, meant to ſacrifice him, when K. Henry IV. beſieged him in Edinburgh Caſtle; he knew this would never have been forgiven; and though no author, I think, hints it, yet it is not impoſſible but that thoſe who had the care of conducting Prince James, his other nephew, into France, might have been bribed by him with the concurrence of K. Henry to land him upon the Engliſh coaſts: it was the intereſt of both him and K. Henry to have it ſo; the former deprived by it a brother from revenging David's death, and beſide, kept the ſovereign authority under the name of Regent; and Henry had a pledge to keep Scotland quiet.

natural to youth, ſeems to be the rocks upon which he was wrecked; for it is not conſiſtent with reaſon that the Prince, who violated the chaſtity of women, even of thoſe dedicated to religion, ſhould have his memory held in ſuch veneration by his countrymen, as to be thought by them one of the "beatified;" and that at his grave, in the church of Lindores, it ſhould be believed that miracles ſhould have been wrought; this circumſtance evinces that his faults were only ſuch as young Princes of his rank uſually fall into; and that knowing his merit, it called forth the regard of the common people, and his fate their compaſſion, and both together impoſed upon their credulity, ſo that they adjudged him a ſaint. His ſaving Edinburgh Caſtle from capitulation, and perhaps the nation from falling into the hands of its then national enemies, place his ſervices to his country in a moſt conſpicuous point of view. Theſe pages are due to his exalted birth, his worth, and his almoſt unparalleled miſfortunes.

Prince David was affianced to Janet, only daughter of George, Earl of March, and this with his father's conſent; part of the marriage portion was actually paid by that nobleman *, but Archibald, Earl of Douglas, diſpleaſed with the preference to his ſiſter Marjory, daughter of another Archibald, who had poſſeſſed that title, offered her, with a larger fortune, and ſhe was accepted, to the diſgrace of K. Robert, or rather of Albany, the real Governor of the kingdom: March revolted, and in the hands of the Engliſh was a cruel thorn in the ſide of his country; Douglas ſaw in the end his aims defeated, by the premature death of the Prince without legal iſſue; and to add to his mortification, he loſt a vaſt ſum of money that he had ſpent to procure that marriage; a ſuitable reward for his unjuſtifiable conduct towards David, though it may be allowed, that if he meant to abaſe, he might not intend to ruin him.

* Janet, daughter of the Earl of March, was married after the Prince refuſed her hand, firſt to John Lord Seton, and ſecondly, to Sir Adam Johnſon, of the place of that name.

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2. John, or, as Leſly calls him, Donald, who died young.

John, or Donald II. 2d ſon of K. Robert & Q. Annabel.

3. King James I. of whom in the next ſection.

James, 3d ſon, who ſucceeded to the Crown.

Margaret, eldeſt daughter of K. Robert III. and Q. Annabel.

4. Margaret, who was married to Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas, brother to the lady whom her brother Prince David had married. At this time the family of Douglas was little inferior in power or revenue to that of Stuart, poſſeſſing, I think, at one time the Earldoms of Douglas, Ormond, Murray and Wigton; and there have at a later period been of the name Dukes of Queensbury and Hamilton, Earls of Morton, March, and Dunbarton, Lord Mordington, with other creations, both Scotch, Engliſh, and French. This nobleman was Lord of Bothwell, Galloway and Annandale, and Earl of Douglas; he was in high favour with Robert, Duke of Albany, the Regent of Scotland: he inherited the bravery of his anceſtors, diſtinguiſhing himſelf at the battle of Homildon, fought in 1402, where he loſt an eye, and his liberty; but recovering the latter, he was ſtationed to defend the Caſtle of Edinburgh againſt K. Henry IV. in 1409, and in 1420 the Earl broke into England, where he did incredible miſchief, and having burnt Alnwick, he returned with great ſpoil. He was held in ſuch high eſtimation by the public, that in 1423 he had the command of an army of 10,000 men, ſent to aſſiſt K. Charles VII. of France in his wars with the Engliſh; which Monarch, for the important ſervices he rendered the kingdom, created him Duke of Terouane, and gave him the ſtaff of a Mariſhal of France. His fate was decided in 1424 at the battle of Vernoil, bravely fighting againſt John, Duke of Bedford, brother to K. Henry V. of England; and his body, with that of his heroic ſon-in-law, the Earl of Buchan, was depoſited with the utmoſt ſolemnity in the church of St. Gratian in Tournay. It is not known whether the Princeſs ſurvived Lord Douglas; but if ſhe did, ſhe muſt have been much in years, as her children were grown up, and ſome or all of them were married at the time of their father's death. The Princeſs was buried in the chancel of the church belonging to the Abbey of Lincheden. Mr.

Pennant ſpeaks thus of her tomb:—"Her effigy, at full length, "lay on the ſtone, her head reſting on two cuſhions; but the "figure is now mutilated; and her bones, till lately, were ſcat-"tered about in a moſt indecent manner by ſome wretches, who "broke open the repoſitory in ſearch of treaſure. The tomb is in "form of an arch, with all parts moſt beautifully carved; on the "middle of the arch is the heart, the Douglas arms, guarded by "three chalices ſet croſs-ways, with a ſtar near each, and certain "letters I could not read. On the wall is inſcribed, A L'AIDE "DE DIEU; and at ſome diſtance beneath, HIC JACET DNA "MARGARETA REGIS SCOTICE FILIA QUODAM COMITISSA DE "DOUGLAS DNA GALLOVIDIÆ ET VALLIS ANNANDIÆ. In the "front of the tomb are nine ſhields, containing as many arms: in "one are the three ſtars, the original coat of this great houſe, for "the heart was not added till the good Sir James was employed in "carrying that of Robert Bruce to the Holy Land; beſides are the "arms after that event, and alſo their arms as Lords of Annandale, "Galloway and Liddeſdale. Near the tomb is a door-caſe richly "ornamented with a carving, and on the top the heart and chalices "as in the former." Mr. Pennant has accompanied this curious deſcription with an engraving. The iſſue of the Princeſs by the Earl of Douglas was two ſons and four daughters; 1. Archibald, who, in his father's life-time, bore the title of Lord Wigton, and upon his death ſucceeded him in thoſe of Earl of Douglas, Lord of Bothwell, Galloway and Annandale, and Duke of Terouane, and obtained alſo that of Count de Longueville, and was made a Mariſhal of France, which kingdom he greatly aſſiſted in her wars with England, going over in 1419 with the brave Earl of Buchan, his brother-in-law, and returned in 1422, to levy troops to tranſport over, but falling ill, he could not go with them. In 1424, he was ſent as head of the embaſſy to procure the reſtoration of his Sovereign K. James I. with whom he returned: he was appointed Lord Lieutenant, and Governor of Scotland in the minority of that Monarch's ſucceſſor, and died in 1440. 2. James, Earl of Abercorn, and Lord Balverie, who, upon the aſſaſſination of the only two

PART III. Children of K. Rob. III. and Q. Annabel.

ſons of his brother in Edinburgh Caſtle, ſucceeded to the titles of Earl of Douglas, Duke of Terouane, &c. He was ſurnamed the Groſs, was a Warden of the Marſhes in the reign of K. James II. and by Beatrix, daughter of Robert, and ſiſter to Murdoch, Dukes of Albany, and Governors of Scotland, (the latter of whom ſtiled him in his charter, *dilectus frater meus)* the future Earls deſcended. 3. Margaret, married to William, Earl of Orkney. 4. Elizabeth, to John Stuart, Earl of Buchan, Conſtable of France, and Chamberlain of Scotland. 5. Helen, to Alexander Lauder, of Hatton: and 6. Mary, to Sir John Glendoning, of the place of that name.

Mary, younger daughter of K. Rob. III. and Q. Annabel.

5. Mary, of whom we know nothing but the name, and that ſhe married, firſt to Sir James Kennedy, whoſe father, Sir Gilbert, was then living; but he, in conſideration of this his ſon's marrying the daughter of his Sovereign, preferred him to his eldeſt ſon Gilbert, which occaſioned ſuch a bitter animoſity between them, that the latter killed him. K. Robert III. gave Sir James a charter of confirmation of the bailiary of Carric, to be "*caput totius proſapiæ*," and to command the militia of that diſtrict; the King calls him his "beloved relation," in a ſubſequent charter, dated at Dundonald in 1405, by which his Majeſty confirms the lands and barony of Dalrymple to him, and Mary Stuart, the King's daughter, "his ſpouſe," ſo that it in ſome meaſure not only identifies the marriage, but aſcertains the time when he was living, and her huſband; probably he did not long ſurvive that date, owing to his brother's revengeful violence: by the Princeſs he had two ſons, 1. Gilbert, Lord Kennedy, who was highly honoured by K. James II. and was one of the ſix Governors of Scotland in the minority of K. James III. By Agnes, daughter of Herbert, Lord Maxwell, he was anceſtor of the Earls of Caſſilis. 2. James, ſucceſſively Biſhop of Dunkeld and St. Andrew's, Privy Counſellor to K. James II. Chancellor of Scotland in that reign, and one of the Regents of the kingdom in the minority of K. James III. He died in 1466, having founded and endowed the College of St. Salvator, in the Univerſity of St. Andrew's, with equal piety and

munificence; none exceeded him in power or integrity, "he was "lamented at his death as a public parent." The family of Kennedy, as deſcending from a daughter of Scotland, are permitted to bear their coat of arms within a double treſſure. The Princeſs Mary became, after Sir James Kennedy's premature death, ſecond wife to William Lord Graham, of Kincarn, Ambaſſador (with the Earls of Crawford and Mar) to K. Henry IV. of England, to ſettle the terms of peace between the Britiſh kingdoms; he was alſo, in many other inſtances, greatly truſted by the kings and governors of Scotland: from Murdoch he obtained ſeveral charters to him, and "*Mariota Stewart ſorori regis*;" the laſt of them is dated in 1424, in which year he died, leaving five ſons, all mentioned in one of theſe charters, dated in 1421: they were, 1. Sir Robert Graham of Strathcarron, anceſtor of thoſe of Fintray, Claver-houſe, &c. 2. Patrick, the learned and pious Biſhop of Brechin, and afterwards of St. Andrews, who died in the Caſtle of Lochlevin in 1478. 3. William, anceſtor of the Grahams of Garvoch and Balgowan. 4. Harry; and 5. Walter of Wallacetown, anceſtor of the Grahams of Knockdolian, and other places. The ducal family of Montroſe is deſcended from a ſon of Sir William, Lord Graham, by a former wife. Moſt authors ſay, that the Princeſs, when a widow to Lord Graham, married to Sir William Edmiſton, of Duntreath *.

PART III. Children of K. Rob. III. and Q. Annabel.

* It is ſingular, that in the hiſtories and peerages of Scotland, we find only one daughter of K. Robert III. mentioned, to whom they give as huſbands, the Earl of Douglas, Sir James Kennedy, Lord Graham, and Sir William Edmiſton; but this chronology and genealogy refute, as alſo the names varying in the inſcription upon the tomb of the Earl of Douglas's wife, the daughter of this king, who is called Margaret, and in the charter given to Sir James Kennedy, his wife (alſo the daughter of that potentate) is called Mary; ſo that this evinces K. Robert III. had at leaſt two daughters, and Mariota is not accounted the ſame name as Mary in Scotland. I ſhould ſuſpect that Robert had a third daughter, who had only the Lord Graham for her huſband, unleſs it was a queſtion of diſpute which of the daughters was married to Sir William Edmiſton. No Scotch hiſtorian or genealogiſt has, that I know of, cleared up ſo much as I have of the female iſſue of this king; perhaps ſome future antiquarian, by inſpecting ancient charters, may be able to aſcertain how many

A Natural Child of K. Robert III.

Sir John Stuart, natural ſon of K. Robert III.

King Robert the Third had an illegitimate ſon, Sir John Stuart, of Blackhall, whoſe only child, Margaret, was the ſecond wife of Duncan Campbel, of Lochaw, anceſtor by her of the Campbels of Achinbreak, Ellengrey and Ottar.

daughters Robert had, and to whom they married; but it is ſingular that the hiſtories of the Douglas and Kennedy families are not more accurate in what ſo greatly adds to their honour.

PART IV.

James I. King of Scotland.

KING JAMES I. was born in the year 1393, and was deſigned to be ſent into France for education, or rather to be out of the power of his cruel and ambitious uncle, the Duke of Albany; but landing in England, he was moſt ungenerouſly detained by K. Henry IV. and he continued a priſoner during the remainder of that reign, the whole of K. Henry V.'s, and part of his ſucceſſor's, a ſpace of eighteen years; he was even led by King Henry V. againſt his own ſubjects, and their allies, during his wars in France; nor was he ſuffered to leave England until he agreed to pay the enormous ſum of 40,000l. under a pretence of its having been incurred in educating and maintaining him; but however diſagreeable his captivity, it was attended with the happieſt effects to himſelf and his ſubjects, for all imaginable pains were taken with his education, and he taught the Scots the bleſſings of a civil government; from which cauſe it was ſaid, they made their former kings, "but he made that people a nation." James was crowned with his Queen at Scone in May 1424, at which time he was in the twenty-ſeventh year of his age. He was aſſaſſinated in his bedchamber at Roxburgh, in the evening of February 21, 1437-8, by the Earl of Athol, his uncle, and others, when he had lived forty-three years, and reigned thirteen. His remains were depoſited in the church of the Charter-houſe in Perth, of his own foundation; and in deteſtation of his murder, the dreſs he wore when he was killed was preſerved and ſhewn to ſtrangers for ſome ages afterwards; that by the multiplicity of wounds it bore evidence to the ſpectators, who might learn the cruel violence of his unnatural relations. James K. James I.

PART IV. K. James I.

was undoubtedly the wiſeſt prince, not only of his own, but of any other family, that ever ſat upon the throne of Scotland. Educated in the court of Harry V. of England, the moſt powerful Sovereign in Europe, and accuſtomed to the ſplendour of royalty, and to view a well regulated government, what muſt have been his feelings, when reſtored to that throne which had loſt, whilſt it remained in the hands of his relations, the little luſtre it had ever poſſeſſed? Undiſmayed, however, he determined to brave every danger to effect, what ſeemed almoſt impoſſible to correct, not only the errors of his predeceſſors, but to make his ſubjects happy, in giving them wiſe and equal laws, ſuch as the Southern inhabitants of the iſland were bleſſed with, and to ſoften the rude manners of the Scots, and render them deſerving of his paternal care; ſo that he may be juſtly ſtiled the reſtorer, the civilizer, and legiſlator of his country; and the grief and reſentment Scotland ſhewed at his death, prove the value ſhe entertained for his uncommon worth. The Czar of Muſcovy reformed the manners of his ſubjects, but remained himſelf a barbarian. James was ſkilled in all thoſe accompliſhments that adorned the moſt elegant of his contemporaries, excelling in riding, wreſtling, juſting at the tournaments, archery, and the uſe of warlike weapons: he ſpoke Engliſh and French fluently, and underſtood the Latin language: he was not only a judge of, but a fine performer of muſic, eſpecially on the harp: and Scotland owed the uſe of the organ in her ſacred edifices to him; he greatly loved the choral ſervice, and was ſuppoſed the fineſt finger in his dominions. James alſo had a taſte for the muſes, and wrote ſeveral pieces of poetry; he was author of the humorous ballad called "Chriſt's Kirk on the Grene," a Poetical Addreſs to the Princeſs, whom he afterwards married, and ſome other things; and he and his Queen introduced many of the elegancies of the Engliſh Court into Scotland, which were alike unknown, and diſreliſhed by a rude people, prejudiced in favour of their ancient uncultivated manners. "He was," ſays Abercromby, "in converſation familiar and eaſy; in deportment grave, but not auſtere; his paſſions were moderate, his religion ſincere, and his

" courage unqueſtionable. His faith was without ſuperſtition; he " founded and endowed a monaſtery at Perth for the Carthuſians, " yet knew that exceſs was weakneſs, always expreſſing his opinion " of his predeceſſor, K. David I. that he was, from his prodigality " to the church, *a ſore ſaint for the Crown.*" James ſhould perhaps have waited to teach his ſubjects refinement more gradually; becauſe, without a force ſufficient to have uſed coercive means, it was impoſſible in a few years to have effected his benevolent purpoſes. His ſeverity has been blamed; 3000 of the banditti were executed by him. Scotland was ſo overgrown with violent humours, that it was neceſſary to part with ſome of the ill blood that nouriſhed them; but his deſtroying ſo many of the Princes of the Albany branch was cruel; juſtice ſhould ever be tempered with mercy; but ſevere as he was, it is impoſſible to believe the Major when he relates, that he uſed to tell his Queen, that " he would not leave a man in Scot- " land alive, who might not in point of conſanguinity go to bed to " her." In his perſon he was finely formed, and all the features of his face were handſome; and though below the middle ſize, he excelled in martial and robuſt exerciſes, none of his Court having power to hurl a ſtone or bullet of equal weight ſo far as he could; and he often out-ran the ſwifteſt of his pages. His Great Seal is copied in the deſign from that of Robert, Duke of Albany, only the arms of Scotland are on both ſides the throne, and the four following Sovereigns had theirs without any variety. His devices or cognizances were, a crown lying upon the ground, from which aroſe a ſword and a croſs, with this motto, " *Pro lege, et grege*;" his other was a branch of thiſtles, with a ſprig of rue, and " *Pour ma defence.*"

The Queen of K. James I.

James I. married Joan, eldeſt daughter of John, Earl of Somerſet, by Margaret, daughter of John Holland, Earl of Kent, maternal brother to K. Richard II. The Queen's father was the ſon of

PART IV. Joan, Queen of K. James I.

John, Earl of Lancaſter, who aſſumed for ſome time the title of King of Caſtile; and her grandfather was Edward III. King of England; ſo that ſhe was nearly allied to K. Henry VI. then upon the Anglican throne. This match was effected by her uncle, Henry Beaufort, the rich Cardinal Biſhop of Wincheſter, whoſe aim was to ſtrengthen and ſupport himſelf and family at Court; and he procured the conſent of the Scottiſh nation, and offered what became the marriage portion, which was rated at 10,000l. but it was detained under pretence of paying part of the expences of the King her huſband during his reſidence in England. It is remarkable, that deſirous as the Engliſh were for a matrimonial alliance, yet they would not mention the ſubject, from a delicacy that is highly pleaſing; for in the inſtructions given to the Commiſſioners who met at Pontefract, prior to the King's liberation, it was given them in charge, that "if the Scotch Ambaſſadors ſhould talk of a marriage "between their King and ſome Engliſh lady, to tell them that he "himſelf is acquainted not only with ſeveral Engliſh ladies of high "birth, but alſo with Princeſſes of the blood royal, and that he "may make his own choice; but if the Scots ſhould make no ſuch "propoſal, to be very cautious in that reſpect, becauſe the women "of England are not wont to make the firſt addreſſes of that kind "to men." Joan, or, as the Scotch called her, Jean, was married in the church of the Priory of St. Mary's Overy, in Southwark, Feb. 2, 1424; ſhe was conducted to the borders of Scotland by her father, the Cardinal her uncle, and a numerous train of attendants; and was crowned with James, whom ſhe accompanied in all his many excurſions and enterprizes, conducting herſelf ſo well during his life, that ſhe ſeemed deſerving ſo eſtimable a Prince. Their court was always numerous, and a ſplendour unknown before was every where viſible about it; ſhe took equal pains in refining the female part of her ſubjects, as the King her conſort did the men. Her heroic love to him was exemplified by the noble manner in which ſhe endeavoured to preſerve him againſt his aſſaſſins, covering at that time his body with her own; nor would ſhe quit him until forced to it, by having received two wounds herſelf.

After the King's death, ſhe reſided chiefly in Stirling, endeavouring however to have the care of the young Sovereign, her ſon, during his minority, and to govern the kingdom alſo; but finding herſelf precluded from the royal preſence, ſhe laid a plot to get the infant potentate out of the hands of the Chancellor Crighton; for this purpoſe ſhe requeſted leave to paſs ſome time with James in Edinburgh Caſtle, where he was, previous to her going to the White Kirk of Buchan in pilgrimage, to offer up prayers and vows for the King's health: ſuch a requeſt the Chancellor thought could not be refuſed; ſhe was admitted with her attendants, and their baggage; as her whole conduct was ſuch as ſeemed only what might be expected from a mother to a ſon, under the tuition of a guardian; and as ſhe had no attendants with her that could give the leaſt alarm to Crighton's fears, he ſeemed perfectly ſatisfied with her preſence, giving every poſſible freedom for the few days ſhe remained there. She however in private gained the good opinion of her ſon, and perſuaded him that he was a priſoner, and ought to rejoice in the opportunity that maternal affection was deſirous to procure for him, to effect his eſcape; to this he liſtened with avidity. Finding that ſhe had obtained his approbation in her contrivance, ſhe told the Chancellor that ſhe ſhould remain only one night longer, requeſting him to continue his care of the young King, whom ſhe would again viſit in her return from her pilgrimage; his lordſhip profeſſed all dutiful attention to his illuſtrious ward, and reſpect to her perſon; therefore parting, each going to their repoſe, as he thought, ſhe went to the apartment of her ſon, and prevailed upon him, as had been agreed, to ſuffer himſelf to be placed in one of the large trunks, which ſhe had purpoſely brought with her, and in which he was conveyed out of the caſtle as part of the Queen's baggage, the care of it having been given to a truſty ſervant, who placing it upon a ſumpter horſe, carried it to Lieth, and put it in a veſſel that conveyed it ſafe to Stirling, where it was received by Sir Alexander Levington, her Governor; who opened it to the no ſmall diverſion of thoſe who received the royal perſon thus humorouſly packed up. Now, having the Sovereign with her, by ſometimes

PART IV. Joan, Queen of K. James I.

agreeing with one, and at others with the oppoſite party, ſhe poſſeſſed no inconſiderable power, until an imprudent ſecond marriage rendered her much leſs regarded. The perſon who had captivated the Queen was Sir James Stuart, called the Black Knight of Lorn, third ſon of John, Lord Innermeath and Lorn, deſcended from the great grandfather of Robert II. As Sir James was more ſwayed by ambition than regard for either her perſon or dowry, his ſole aim was to obtain by this alliance the poſſeſſion of the perſon of the minor King; flattering himſelf, that if he carried his point, he ſhould be able to govern both him and his dominions, according to the manners prevailing in that kingdom; for whoever ſeized upon the King when he was under tuition, either by open violence or ſtratagem, ſanctioned their adminiſtration by the name of the Monarch, however averſe he was to them, or their meaſures: but his preſumption met its reward, his ambitious hopes proved futile, and he drew upon the Queen and himſelf the rage of the powerful and indignant Douglas, who ſent them, with his brother Sir William Stuart, to priſon. Her Majeſty was confined in a ſmall apartment in Stirling Caſtle, and watched with the greateſt circumſpection, knowing how ſhe had by a ſtratagem excited the laughter of all Scotland againſt the Chancellor. The brothers were worſe dealt with; they were loaded with irons in a common priſon; but after ſome months confinement they obtained their liberty, by the mediation of the Chancellor and Lord Gordon, who became ſureties for their good behaviour. However, ſhe was obliged to clear herſelf perſonally before an aſſembly of nobles, and the brothers were precluded from accepting any place under the government, without leave expreſsly granted to them. But as the Queen was not one of thoſe ſaints who triumph in perſecution, ſhe meditated a ſevere revenge for the inſult ſhe had received; ſhe had once obtained the perſon of the King her ſon; ſhe had again, whilſt a priſoner at Stirling, gained the young Monarch's confidence, who warmly entered into the meaſures of his mother; a plan was laid, and happily effected; for whilſt the King was hunting ſlenderly attended near Stirling, he was ſurrounded by 4000 men, ſent thither by

Chancellor Crighton at the ſolicitation of the Queen, who reſcued James, and conducted him to Edinburgh. This appears the laſt public tranſaction of her Majeſty, ſhe dying July 15, 1445, in the Caſtle of Dunbar, whither ſhe had retired for protection, and which Lord Hales, its Governor, afforded to her: ſhe was buried by the remains of the King her huſband. The diſappointed conſort of a Queen Dowager was not to be taught wiſdom by experience; Sir James took little pains to ſtifle his ſentiments, which rendered him ſo obnoxious to the miniſtry, that he found it expedient to leave the kingdom; but fearing falling into the hands of the Engliſh, he obtained a paſs from K. Henry VI. dated Nov. 24, 1445, in which he is called "James Stuart, late huſband of the deceaſed Queen of Scotland," and in it is included his ſon James, Will. Dickſon, and twenty others: but whilſt he ſought protection againſt enemies in Britain, he fell into the hands of others; for, as if purſued by an evil deſtiny, he was ſeized in his paſſage to Flanders by ſome pirates of that country, in whoſe cuſtody he died. By Sir James Stuart the Queen had three ſons; 1. Sir John, created by his uterine brother, K. James II. Earl of Athol, who, as well as his ſucceſſor, highly valued him for his loyalty, wiſdom, and valour: he died at a great age in 1512. The title failing in his male poſterity, it has come by an heireſs into the family of Murray, and Athol is now raiſed to the ſuperior rank of a dukedom. 2. Sir James Stuart, whom K. James III. created Earl of Buchan, with other inferior titles, and granted him alſo many eſtates; he was faithfully attached to that unfortunate Monarch, whoſe violent death he highly reſented. This nobleman died before the year 1499, having filled many important poſts with ſingular diſcretion and honour. The title of Buchan by an heir general came into a branch of the Douglaſes, and is now veſted by another in the family of Erſkine. 3. Andrew, who became Dean, and in 1483 was conſecrated Biſhop of Murray; he was alſo Privy Seal. His death happened in 1498.

PART IV.

Children of K. James I. and Q. Joan.

Children of K. James I. and Q. Joan.

Alexander, eldeſt ſon of K. James I. and Q. Joan.

1. Alexander, a twin with James; he was born in the palace of Holy-rood-houſe, October 16, 1430, and died in his infancy.

James, who ſucceeded to the crown.

2. James, afterwards King James II. See the following ſection.

Margaret, eldeſt daughter.

3. Margaret, who obtained a higher rank than any daughter of Scotland ever had before, for ſhe became dauphineſs, and would, had ſhe lived, been Queen of France: the high eſtimation the King her father was held in, procured her this ſplendid alliance; for before this time what from the rudeneſs of the people, and the poverty of the kingdom, the firſt powers in Europe did not ſeek matrimonial alliances with the Scots: but Charles VII. King of France, pleaſed to acquire the friendſhip of James, whoſe ſubjects had often ſo greatly aſſiſted in ſecuring the crown to him, when graſped at by the Plantagenets; and to detach him from their alliance, ſent over, in 1428, the Archbiſhop of Rheims, the firſt Peer in France, and Sir John Stewart of Darnley, Earl of Evreux in that Kingdom, who propoſed a treaty to cement the ancient friendſhip of the two nations, which was accepted: by it, this Princeſs was to be given in marriage to Lewis the dauphin, and that if ſhe became Queen, ſhe was to have as large a dowry as any former one had ever enjoyed; but if ſhe ſhould not, one of 15,000 livres: conditioning alſo that if the dauphin ſhould die before conſummation of the marriage, then a ſecond ſon of France, or the next heir to the crown, ſhould marry her if ſhe lived; if not, that her ſecond ſiſter, or others in ſucceſſion, ſhould be ſubſtituted in her ſtead, provided that the parties did not exceed the others in age ſeven years. If the dauphin's death ſhould prevent the nuptials, the Princeſs was to have for her "charges and loſs" 40,000 crowns of gold, and it was agreed that if either of the monarchs broke the agreement, he, as agreſſor, ſhould pay the

other 100,000 crowns. This was a moſt advantageous treaty to Scotland, eſpecially as in return for it, ſhe was only to give, in lieu of a marriage fortune, 6000 men, to ſupply thoſe Scots who had been ſwept off in the wars Charles had carried on with England; and yet the King of France was ſo pleaſed with the ſucceſs of the nagociation, that he conferred upon James and his heirs male, the county of Xaintonge and the lordſhip of Rochefort on the Charente, permitting him or them to do their homage by a relation as their deputy; ſtipulating however, that if he choſe, when he had freed his dominions from the Engliſh, to exchange theſe territories for either the dukedom of Berry, or the county of Evreux. Though the Engliſh highly reſented this treaty, and it was ſaid even offered to marry their young ſovereign to the princeſs if it was broken through, and threatened war in caſe of refuſal, James ſent over the ſtipulated troops to France, and fulfilled the other part of his engagements in having the Princeſs conducted thither. She was moſt royally attended, for in her train were many of the nobility, prelates, knights and others, with no leſs than 140 ladies, all of noble birth, and moſt of them unmarried, embarking on board a ſquadron of forty ſhips. The number of veſſels, we may preſume, was from the fear of falling into the hands of the Engliſh, whoſe power was very great at ſea, and whoſe fleet was avowedly ſent out to intercept the bride: however, happily for her, by ſteering along by the weſtern coaſt, they landed ſafely at Rochelle, whilſt the Engliſh ſuffered a defeat by the fleet of Caſtile, which they had attacked, miſtaking it for that of Scotland. The marriage was ſolemnized with great magnificence at Tours, July 6, 1435, the dauphin having compleated the fourteenth, and ſhe the twelfth year of her age: but as that was too early, according to the Roman ritual, a diſpenſation was procured by the archbiſhop of the ſee in which they were married. Margaret was greatly beloved by her father-in-law K. Charles, and revered by all France, except her huſband, who, though he eſteemed her virtues, never loved her perſon. It is averred that his objection to her was becauſe her breath did not exhale perfume, and it is generally ſuppoſed that he never conſummated the marriage. She died

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before he ſucceeded to the crown, at Chalons-ſur-Marne, from chagrin at his behavior, and becauſe ſome aſperſions had been caſt upon her character, which we cannot but conſider falſe, for ſhe was univerſally reſpected; and Lewis, though one of the moſt odious characters that Chriſtendom preſents to our view, had ſo much regard for her memory as to remove her corps from the church of Chalons to the abbey church of Laon. Though ſhe was ſo young at her death, there is an anecdote that does honor to her ſenſibility and taſte, and evinces that ſhe diſtinguiſhed herſelf by her patronage of men of genius, whom ſhe much admired. Paſſing Alain Chartier, (who was equally careſſed for his wit and ſhuned for his uglineſs) when ſleeping ſhe kiſſed him; perceiving the aſtoniſhment of her ladies, ſhe ſaid: "it is not the man whom I kiſſed, but the mouth "whence have proceeded ſo many elevated ſentiments." Margaret's marriage, though it was attended with little ſatisfaction to herſelf, was of great advantage to her family, as it raiſed their honor by ſo ſplendid an alliance, and procured three of her ſiſters princely huſbands when before it was uſual to give the daughters of the Scottiſh Sovereigns to the nobility; nor do I know that before this reign they were dignified with any higher title than that of lady: but James I. aſſumed and received more grandeur than his predeceſſors; even the Engliſh, never laviſh in their reſpects to the Kings of Scotland, ſtiled him the moſt high and potent Prince James, by the grace of God, King of Scotland: the modeſt ſimplicity of ancient times, by James's education, gave way to the more pompous manners he had ſeen in England and France.

Elizabeth, 2d daughter.

4. Elizabeth, who became the ſecond wife of Francis I. duke of Bretagne, ſhe was married in the year 1441.

Jean, 3d daughter.

5. Jean, whom it was deſigned ſhould marry to the eldeſt ſon, and heir to the duke of Savoy, who, dying before the nuptials were celebrated, ſhe married, firſt, James, third earl of Angus, one of the conſervators of the peace between the Britiſh kingdoms, but he leaving her a widow, ſhe had, for her ſecond huſband, James Lord

Dalkeith. K. James II. probably from this marriage with his ſiſter, declared, March 14, 1456-7, by his chancellor to the parliament, that he had nominated and created "the noble and potent Lord James Douglas of Dalkeith, an Earl by the title of Earl of Morton;" but William Lord Borthwick in the name of his ſiſter Janet, lady Dalkeith, this nobleman's mother-in-law, petitioning the King before the three eſtates of the realm, that this ſtile might not injure her ſon in the lands he poſſeſſed in Morton: the chancellor replied, that it could not prejudice her, as this title related to Morton in Calder-clear, and not in the place of that name ſituated in Nithiſdale, where her eſtates were. May 15, 1460, the ſame Sovereign paſſed a grant of lands of Eaſter and Weſter-Balbarton, and in 1465, gave him a charter for other premiſes in Woodfield; the former gives it *Jacobo comite de Morton & Joannæ ſuæ, ſorori noſtriæ cariſſimæ*. The iſſue of this marriage was John, ſecond Earl of Morton; and Janet, the wife of Patrick Hepburn, the firſt Earl of Bothwell, and afterwards of Thomas Lord Erſkine, anceſtor of the Earls of Mar. The Princeſs Janet, a third time married to George, ſecond Earl of Huntley, a nobleman who made a conſpicuous figure in the courts of K. James III. and IV. in the name of the laſt-named Prince he received the ſeals, which he held from 1498 to 1502, and died in 1507,* leaving by Janet four ſons and ſix daughters. 1. Alexander, third Earl of Huntley, anceſtor to the Dukes of Gordon. 2. Sir Adam Gordon of Aboyne, who, by his marriage with Elizabeth Counteſs of Sutherland, was progenitor of the noblemen of that title, deſcending from them. 3. Sir Will. Gordon, who was ſlain at Flodden, anceſtor of the Gordons of Gight. 4. Sir James Gordon, ſeated at Latterfury, admiral of the royal fleet of Scotland in 1513. 5. Catherine, married one who called himſelf Richard, Duke of York, youngeſt ſon of K. Edward IV of England: this extraordinary perſon is by ſome given as a mean adventurer, of the name of Perkin Warbeck; whilſt others, with ſome appearance of probability, think him the real ſon of the King: it is

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* As the Earl of Huntley had a ſecond wife, the Princeſs muſt have died before him.

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certain in France and Flanders he had been acknowledged by the King of France and the Ducheſs dowager of Burgundy, the ſiſter of K. Edward IV. as the ſon of that Sovereign, each of whom had granted him a guard, and he was very generally believed a Prince by the commonalty of England, as well as by ſome of the higheſt rank, and univerſally in Ireland; he was received therefore in Scotland with that reſpect that was due to the perſonage he pretended to be; and though a marriage had been propoſed between the Scottiſh Monarch and the Princeſs Royal of England, the moſt illuſtrious then in Europe, yet ſo much was James prejudiced in favour of the ſuppoſed Duke of York, that he declined it. "He was a "young man," ſays a Scotch writer, "near about James's own "age, ſenſible and engaging; and the Scottiſh Monarch, who had "a great deal of the knight-errant in his diſpoſition, conſidering "him as a diſtreſſed Prince, not only gave him a very hoſpitable "reception, and his own couſin in marriage, but entered ſo warmly "into his cauſe, as to endeavour at placing him on the throne of "England." And he did invade that kingdom; but finding the people of the North of England not inclined to revolt, as having always been the partiſans of the Lancaſtrian branch of the Plantagenets, he deſiſted; and in the end gave up the cauſe, ſo much that he ſent away Perkin: but it does not ſeem any impeachment of James's underſtanding, in giving credit to what the Princes upon the Continent ſanctioned, and it undoubtedly is much to his honour if he did, to act ſo generouſly; we muſt ſuppoſe he had no doubt at the time he gave him his beautiful and amiable relation; for Perkin, ſtruck with the charms of this accompliſhed lady, aſked, and obtained permiſſion, to unite himſelf to her; and as he was deemed the legal heir to the moſt valuable Crown in Europe, it was no wonder that James accepted his ſuit; and as it is univerſally allowed he was extremely like Edward IV. in his features, who, De Comines ſays, was the handſomeſt Sovereign of all his contemporaries, is it wonderful that a young lady ſhould be inſpired with ſentiments favourable to the tender paſſion for a young, unfortunate, and beautiful Prince? She was married in 1496, and her huſband

leaving Scotland ſoon after in three ſhips, given him by K. James, ſhe, with a few more who were attached to his perſon, accompanied him; firſt he ſailed to Ireland, where he had been ſo well received before; but finding that the people of Cornwall had revolted, he haſted thither, taking the title of K. Richard IV. and having landed at Bodmin, marched to Exeter, but finding it impoſſible to take it, retired to Taunton; and at length, ſeeing himſelf deſerted by many, and having only ſome unarmed, undiſciplined men, he took ſanctuary, with 60 of his followers on horſeback, in the Monaſtery of Beawley in Hants. Whilſt Henry beſet it, that he might not eſcape, he learned that his lady was in St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall, and fearful that if ſhe was pregnant more trouble might ariſe, he ordered a detachment of horſe to go thither, and bring her to him; this was effected, and ſhe ſaw her huſband no more, who, upon ſurrendering up his perſon, obtained a pardon for his life; but having once eſcaped, and made a ſecond attempt, he was doomed to that moſt inhuman ſentence paſſed upon traitors, and which he underwent in 1498, at Tyburn, in all its horrors, having then and once before made a confeſſion that he was an impoſtor; but what he declared is ſo contradictory and extravagant, that it appears far leſs plauſible than that he was the ſon of a King. I have ſaid thus much of him only, as it relates to the fair Catharine, who was led to the preſence of him, whom her huſband had deemed in his proclamations a uſurper, traitor, tyrant, and murderer; and whoſe head he had offered a reward for. Judge her ſenſations! but ſorrowing youth and beauty ſet off with all the accompliſhments that it was poſſible for thoſe of illuſtrious birth to acquire, ſubdued a jealous Monarch, who treated the wife of the Pretender to his diadem, not only with a tenderneſs quite foreign to his character, but, as if he had been the ſuppliant, and not her, conſoling her in the moſt gracious and affectionate manner; recommending her to the care and protection of his Queen, by thoſe who conducted her to London, where ſhe was received by the whole Court with praiſe and pity. Henry, who never before had acted generouſly, aſſigned

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her a maintenance ſuitable to her birth; and ſhe was treated by the Queen more as a companion than as a lady of her bedchamber, for a train of gentlewomen alſo were given to ſerve her; and ſhe enjoyed this proviſion, not only during Henry's reign, but many years afterwards. There is no one point that the Engliſh and Scotch hiſtorians ſo much agree in, as the merits of this lady. It is difficult perhaps to ſay whether her virtue, beauty, or accompliſhments, demanded moſt admiration. A Scotch writer ſays, "ſhe was one of "the moſt handſome and accompliſhed ladies in that kingdom;" and Speed, who calls her "a younge maide of excellent beauty "and vertue," ſays, that "her faireneſs was ſuch, and her pre-"ſence ſo amiable, that ſhe deſerved to be, as ſhe was commonly "called, *The White Roſe*; whoſe fortunes (being ſo far unworthy "either of her birth, ſingular modeſtie, or wifely faith, notwith-"ſtanding the ſo abject condition of her huſband) as they moved "juſt commiſeration towards her, ſo they doubled the luſtre of "their praiſes." It was uſual for the partizans of the perſecuted Houſe of York to call the heirs of that branch *The White Roſe*; the Ducheſs of Burgundy gave Perkin that diſtinguiſhed appellation; and De la Pole, in the reign of K. Henry VIII. alſo had it. Catharine always perſiſted in her belief that her huſband was the real Duke of York, which made the gracious reception ſhe always met with at the Court of London the more extraordinary, and is no ſmall argument that he was what he pretended to be; for certainly ſhe muſt ſee him at all times, and often when acting the part of a pretender muſt have been fatiguing and troubleſome, and even perhaps impoſſible: he alſo ſeems to have loved her with the greateſt warmth of affection, and his leaving her at St. Michael's Mount appears to have proceeded from his care, not his neglect, as a writer inſinuates; had Catharine judged ſo, her love to his memory could not have been ſo warm, nor perhaps would it, if ſhe entertained any doubts of his illuſtrious birth. By his violent death ſhe could not judge him, for the Earl of Warwick was certainly of the blood royal, and without a crime; which muſt have convinced her, that

Henry would not have pardoned her huſband, though he had been really the ſon of K. Edward IV. Catharine, in her widowhood, accepted the hand of Sir Matthew Cradock, of Swanſea, in the county of Glamorgan, Knt. by whom ſhe had an only child, Margaret, married to Sir Rich. Herbert, of Eways, Knt. from which marriage the Herberts, Earls of Pembroke, are deſcended. Perhaps this long relation of a lady, whoſe hiſtory ſeems not ſo immediately connected with the ſubject of theſe memoirs, may demand an apology; but it was impoſſible, knowing theſe particulars of her life, not to relate them, accompanied with ſentiments expreſſive of all thoſe feelings of compaſſion, which her great merit and unhappy life inſpire. 6. Janet, married firſt to Alexander, Lord Lindſay, ſon and heir of David, Earl of Crawford; and ſecondly to Patrick, Lord Grey. 7. Mary, married to Sir Will. Sinclair, of Weſterhill. 8. Sophia, to Sir Gilbert Hay, of Kilmallock. 9. Agnes, to Sir James Ogilvie, of Finlater. 10. Eleanora, to ——— Crichton, of Innernytie.

Eleanora, 6th daughter.

6. Eleanora, married to Sigiſmond, Duke or Archduke of Auſtria *.

Mary, 7th daughter.

7. Mary, who became the wife of John, Lord of Campvere, or Terveer, in Zealand: the grandſon of this marriage kept up a ſtrict correſpondence with K. James IV. and ſent that Monarch

* Abercrombie quotes Mizeray to diſprove the aſſertion of the Scotch hiſtorians, that five of K. James II.'s daughters accompanied their eldeſt ſiſter into France; who, on the contrary, declares that Elizabeth and Eleanora did not arrive there until the year 1447, when they heard, to their unſpeakable grief, that the wife of the Dauphin was dead: "but the King of France took care to wipe off their virgin tears; he "welcomed them with all the marks of affection and honour in his power to give "them, had they been his own daughters; aſſuring them, that he would be their "father; and he was no worſe than his word, as he beſtowed them in marriage "upon the Archduke of Auſtria, and the Duke of Bretagne." However, he is miſtaken in the idea that the Queen Dowager retired, and died in France.

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many mares of a large breed, for which Flanders is famous, and theſe James highly prized; and returned for them the ſmall horſes of Galloway and fine ſporting dogs, and conferred upon him the Order of the Thiſtle.

Arbella, 8th daughter.

8. Arbella, who died unmarried.

PART V.

James II. King of Scotland.

JAMES II. was the youngeſt of the twins, but Alexander the eldeſt dying in his infancy, he ſucceeded to the Scottiſh throne: he was born at the palace of Holy-rood-houſe, October 16, 1430; he and Alexander were baptized together with great ſplendour, and to farther evince the public joy, Archibald, Earl of Douglas, Alexander, Earl of Roſs, and Sir Gilbert Kennedy, the nephew of K. James I. who were priſoners for diſaffection, were ſet at liberty; and to prove the ſincerity of the reconciliation upon that Monarch's part, Lord Douglas was choſen for one of the ſponſors, and William, that Earl's ſon, was one of the fifty who received knighthood.

The day after the unfortunate death of his father, the three eſtates aſſembling at Holy-rood-houſe, ſet the crown upon his head, when only in the ſixth year of his age; appointing Sir Alexander Levington, of Calendar, Governor of his perſon, and the Caſtle of Edinburgh, and Sir William Crichton Chancellor, until he came of age. James, at his arriving at manhood, and throughout his reign, acted in ſuch a manner, that he won the love and admiration of all the virtuous part of his ſubjects; and though there never was any Sovereign more ill uſed by factious combinations of his nobles, yet none more effectually broke all their meaſures, and upon the ruin of their projects firmly eſtabliſhed his juſt rights, which by his diſintereſted government was rendered truly reſpectable. Having ſubdued the factions at home, he ventured to declare war againſt England; and whilſt beſieging Roxburgh in the firſt commencement of it, he ordered a diſcharge of the ordnance to honour the

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arrival of the loyal and brave Earl of Huntly, which proved fatal to him; for walking with the Earl of Angus too near them, a ſplinter of one of the pieces of artillery that burſt, or the plug that was in it, flying out, ſtruck his Majeſty upon the thigh with ſuch force as to break it, and ſo much wounded him in ſome of his vital parts, that he inſtantly fell and expired: Lord Angus, who was near him, though dangerouſly hurt, recovered; and no injury whatever was done to any other. Such was the ſingular fate of this King, when he had ſat upon the throne twenty-four years, and lived twenty-nine. This cataſtrophe happened Auguſt 3, 1460. His remains were conveyed with great funeral pomp to the church of the monaſtery of Holy-rood-houſe. It is difficult which to admire moſt, his public or private virtues: his accompliſhments were ſuch as became his elevated ſtation, and the period he lived in; his perſon was well formed, he was robuſt, tall, and active, and his countenance would have been pleaſing, but for a natural blemiſh in one of his cheeks, which was of a deep red colour, whence the Scots called him "James with the fiery face." He was brave, juſt, and temperate, though ſometimes hurried into paſſion; and his deportment (continues my author), though martial, was vaſtly engaging, familiar, and very inſinuating. Had he lived, he would by theſe means have effected what his father began, the deſtruction of the exorbitancy of the ariſtocratical power, which almoſt annihilated that of the Crown; and if he had done it, Scotland would have been the firſt kingdom in Europe that had emancipated itſelf; but from various cauſes, particularly the conſtant minorities, ſhe was the laſt, except Poland, that retained the feudal ſyſtem in all its baneful properties. James, to his honour, never had a favourite; nor is there any ſtigma upon his character, except aſſaſſinating the Earl of Douglas with his own hand, a deed that ſeems in this age extremely ferocious; but it was not ſo, if we conſider that this nobleman and his family had bid defiance to every duty, religious and civil; that contemning the laws of his country, and his allegiance to his Sovereign, he acted as an independent deſpot; that he had ſtained himſelf with every crime that he and his ſavage retainers could indulge

in; and that he was only exceeded in acts truly diabolical by his more barbarous associate, friend, and ally, Donald, Lord of the Isles, and Earl of Ross, who, at his request, broke into the midst of the empire, "sparing neither old nor young, without regard to "wives, old, feeble, and decrepit women, or young infants in the "cradle, which would have moved a heart of stone to commisera-"tion; and burned villages, towns and corns, so much thereof as "might not goodly be carried away, by the great prize of goods "that he took." Was it therefore so wonderful, or so criminal, that a Prince, finding no other way to dissolve their confederacy, should plunge his dagger into the breast of Douglas? The device of K. James II. was a coronet, or ancient crown, fixed on a mount of earth, a sword with the point downwards, and a crucifix placed in the form of a Roman V. with the motto "*Pro Lege et Grege*; another of his devices was a laurel garland, within which was the name of God in Hebrew, and as a motto, "*In virtute tua.*"

Mary, Queen of K. James II.

Mary, Queen of K. James II.

In 1448, when K. James II. was arrived at his eighteenth year, (as he was the only male of the Royal Family) the whole kingdom seemed desirous that he should marry; even the rebellious Douglas did not oppose it; the Chancellor Crichton was authorised to obtain a suitable alliance for his Sovereign, and a commission for that purpose was granted at Stirling, upon the 6th of May, in which he, John, Bishop of Dunkeld, and Nicholas Otterburn, Canon of Glasgow, and Official of St. Andrew's, were impowered to treat on behalf of K. James with "the most illustrious Charles, the dear brother and loving confederate King of France," not only to renew the ancient treaty between the Crowns, but to unite it the more close, that Monarch was requested to propose a proper match for the young King. As there was no Princess then of the royal house of Valois, Charles recommended Mary, the daughter of Arnold, Duke of Gueldres, by Catherine, Duchess of Cleves, daughter of

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John, Duke of Burgundy; a Princeſs ſo every way ſuitable, that the Ambaſſadors acquieſced immediately in the choice; but the marriage was not ſolemnized until 1450, when the royal bride was conducted into Scotland in a moſt magnificent manner, attended by a train of Princes, prelates, and noblemen; amongſt the firſt perſonages of theſe, were the Biſhops of Liege and Cambray, the Princes of Raveſtein, Vere and Bergen, and the Earl of Naſſau. In July ſhe was married, and crowned in the Abbey Church of Holy-rood-houſe with a pomp ſuitable to the rank ſhe was called to. Hiſtorians with juſtice ſpeak highly of the fortitude ſhe diſplayed when the King her huſband met a premature death; becauſe, inſtead of indulging in unavailing ſorrow, covering the royal corpſe, ſhe became the leader of the army, and carried on the ſiege with ſo much energy, that Roxburgh ſurrendered: and to ſhew her hatred to a place that had been fatal to the Kings of Scotland, and always dangerous to the kingdom, ſhe levelled it to the ground. During the minority of her ſon, ſhe ſtrove to obtain the Regency, and had the boldneſs to proclaim herſelf tutrix to the King, and governeſs of the kingdom; but the Peers conteſting her right, a treaty took place between her and them; the conditions of it were, that an equal number on each ſide ſhould have the public affairs committed to them; the inſpection of the King's education was given to Mary, and alſo the entire management of that of her other children; but ſhe was far from being pleaſed that ſhe had not the whole, or at leaſt a larger ſhare in the adminiſtration. Finding her end approaching, ſhe ſent for her eldeſt ſon, and having given him the moſt prudent advice, reſigned her life in 1463, to that omnipotent Being who gave it. Her admonitions to K. James III. prove that ſhe poſſeſſed the beſt abilities; perhaps mortifications of various kinds greatly contributed to haſten her end. Buchanan avers, that "ſhe was not well ſpoken of in point of chaſtity." Lindſay, in very groſs language, though he owns "ſhe was in her huſband's "time very wiſe and virtuous," ſays, ſhe became enamoured of Adam Hepburn, of Hales, "who had a wife of his own, which "cauſed her to be ſlighted of all the nobility of Scotland, that ſhe

"saw so many noblemen's sons and barons free of marriage, and "could not chuse one of them in preference to a married man." I omit some of his expressions, as not fit to be written at the close of the eighteenth century. Others give for her lover the Duke of Somerset; but Mr. Guthrie says, that whilst she is fabled to have been intriguing with the Duke, "she was spending the few remaining hours of her life in the cloister of the collegiate church "founded by herself; and that her death was greatly lamented, "because her conduct was irreproachable in private life, and the "nation much indebted to her prudence and activity."

Children of K. James II. and Queen Mary.

Children of K. James II. and Q. Mary.

1. James, who succeeded to the Crown, and became the third King of Scotland of that name. See Part VI.

James, afterwards the IIId.

2. Alexander, Duke of Albany. See Section II. of Part V.

Alexander, Duke of Albany.

3. John, Earl of Mar, an amiable but unfortunate Prince, who unhappily despising the conduct of the King, his brother, let fall some rash, unguarded expressions, which were repeated with others still more to his disadvantage. Irritated at this, and fearful of the fulfilling of what had been foretold him, that he was to fall by his own family, or in the words of the wizard, that "the lion should be devoured by his own whelps," he was arrested and confined at Craig-Millar, from whence he was conducted to the Canon-gate, a suburb in Edinburgh, where he died by violence, at the command of the King; some assert by venesection; the ministers of James gave out, that he died by his own rashness, for disappointment bringing on a fever, he was ordered to be bled; but in the delirium of passion, he tore off the bandage, and died by the effusion of blood. It is evident that the court wished to have him thought worthy of death, for twelve supposed witches were publicly executed under pretence that they were partizans in his crime. Thus this

John, Earl of Mar.

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Prince and twelve equally innocent perſons fell a ſacrifice to the King's predilection for judicial aſtrology and witchcraft, taught him by minions, who wiſhed to remove his family from about his throne, even from the world, to ſecure their own exorbitant power. Linſay deſcribes him as "luſty, and one of high [illegible]ure, fair and "pleaſant faced, gentle in all his behaviour and manners; and "knew nothing but nobility, uſing much hunting and hawking, "with other gentlemanny paſtime and exerciſes, with other knightly "games, as entertaining of great horſes and mares, whereof "the offspring might flouriſh, ſo that he might be ſtaked in times "of war." It is impoſſible not to lament the miſerable fate of this accompliſhed Prince, who never married.

Another ſon of K. James II.

4. K. James II. had another ſon, whoſe name is not mentioned, for "the Queen parted with a bairn, but no man knew for what "reaſon: the bairn was born quick, and deceaſed within a ſhort "ſpace thereafter."

Mary, eldeſt daughter.

5. Mary, e[illegible]t daughter of K. James II. was firſt deſigned to have been married to Edward, Prince of Wales, the unfortunate ſon of the more unhappy K. Henry VI. and afterwards to their ſucceſsful rival K. Edward IV.; but neither of theſe alliances took effect, and ſhe was married to a young Scotch gentleman, of the name of Boyd, of whoſe family it will be neceſſary to ſpeak. They were ſuppoſed to be a younger, but very diſtant branch of the Stuart family, their progenitor having been Simon, third ſon of Alan, the ſecond high ſteward; they took the ſurname of Boyd from the ſeat of their chief. Sir Robert Boyd rendered himſelf ſo acceptable to K. James II. that he erected his patrimony into a barony; Sir Robert roſe to the higheſt offices of truſt in that reign; he had been one of the tutors to the King, who, increaſing in years, was put under the direction of Alexander Boyd, the brother of Sir Robert, a moſt accompliſhed gentleman, who eaſily obtained the favour and confidence of the young Monarch, by blaming the ſeverity of the Kennedies, from whom a plan was laid to take him,

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and executed accordingly, the King eſcaping; and they engroſſed him, and the whole power of the kingdom: and to perpetuate, as far as they could, this pre-eminence, they planned an alliance between this Princeſs and Thomas, his eldeſt ſon; no pains therefore were ſpared to render him every way accompliſhed, and he exceeded all expectation. The young ones were often, as it were, accidentally brought together; a mutual paſſion ſeized each, ſo that when it was propoſed, (having moulded the King to their purpoſe) no obſtacle prevented the union, a union of ſentiment, and of affection, but fraught with a thouſand misfortunes. To render him more honourable, and worthy ſo high an alliance, he was graced with the Earldom of Arran, and the iſland of that name was given him to increaſe his revenue, and to better enable him to maintain his illuſtrious bride. This marriage was celebrated with great pomp in 1467. After indulging in all the luxury of love, they were ſeparated in 1468, becauſe he was judged the moſt proper perſon to bring from Denmark the conſort of his Sovereign; but forgetting the hazard of leaving a capricious Prince with ſuch, who might turn his eſteem into hatred, he ſpent too much time in feaſting and entertainments of every other kind, which detained him until the ſpring, owing to the frozen ſea. In the interim, the enemies of his family, envious of their ſudden elevation, repreſented to the King what a jewel they had ſtolen from the Crown; the Princeſs, they ſaid, ſhould have been given to ſome potent Prince, who could have ſupported Scotland againſt his enemies. James liſtening to theſe arguments, determined to puniſh the Boyds; but waiting until the return of the Earl, his brother-in-law, that he might the more effectually avenge the indignity of the alliance. But when the ſquadron returned with the Princeſs of Denmark, the faithfully affectionate Mary, hearing that the ſhips were anchored, haſted to the veſſel where her huſband was on board, but ſo diſguiſed as not to be known to any other.—Aſtoniſhed and confounded at the unexpected intelligence, and deſirous of withdrawing from all the dangers that preſented themſelves, they immediately ſet ſail for the kingdom he had juſt left. Here they found but a cold reception. Leaving it

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therefore, they travelled through Germany into France. James vowed vengeance; the accompliſhed uncle fell upon a ſcaffold in 1469; the father had fled into England, and died an old man at Alnwick in that kingdom the following year, both of them juſtly lamented; their only real crime againſt the ſtate having been carrying away the minor from Linlithgow; but this, though with his own conſent, and ſanctioned afterwards by the parliament, availed nothing. To the truly venerable Kennedy were they very culpable, deriding that honeſt, able, and virtuous miniſter, by ſending an ape for his companion to divert him in his ſuppoſed idiotiſm, or childiſh age. The gallant, the youthful Earl of Arran, the huſband of James's ſiſter, had done no injury, yet he met with no mercy at the King's hands; the Princeſs, his wife, therefore, in hopes of mollifying her brother, returned to Scotland, in compliance with the intreaties and ſolicitations of her friends; but ſhe was no ſooner there, than ſhe perceived her error, in truſting herſelf to the power of the Earl's enemies, for inſtead of admiſſion into the royal preſence, ſhe was committed a priſoner to Kilmarnoch, the principal ſeat of the Boyds, "as in a free priſon;" and to accompliſh the aim of the King, the Earl, her huſband, was ſummoned to cohabit with her within ſixty days, or the marriage ſhould be declared null. If it had been in his power to have complied, it would only have rendered him a priſoner for life, or have conducted him to the block. As he did not appear, ſhe was adjudged free from every matrimonial engagement, and therefore at full liberty to marry again whomſoever ſhe pleaſed; but ſhe never acquieſced in the ſentence, but kept her faith to the huſband of her choice. It is not aſcertained where he then was, moſt probably in England, waiting the event, and to be ready to right himſelf if any opportunity ſhould preſent itſelf, and which he could much eaſier accompliſh than if he had been upon the Continent. John Paſton, in a letter to his right worſhipful brother, Sir John Paſton, Knt. writes of Lord Arran thus:—"Alſo I pray you to recommend me, "in my moſt humble wiſe, unto the good lordſhip of the moſt "courteous, gentleſt, wiſeſt, kindeſt, moſt companionable, freeſt,

" largeſt, and moſt bounteous knight, my lord the Earl of Arran, " which hath married the King's ſiſter of Scotland. Hereto he is " one of the lighteſt delyverſt (nimbleſt), beſt ſpoken, faireſt " archer; devouteſt, moſt perfect, and trueſt to his lady of all the " knights that ever I was acquainted with; ſo would God, my lady " liked me, as well as I do his perſon, and moſt knightly condi- " tions, with whom I pray you to be acquainted, as to you ſeemeth " beſt. He is lodged at the George Inn, Lombard Street." Then he mentions that he has his ſiſter Anne's book of the Siege of Thebes, and that when he had done with it, he promiſed to deliver it to Sir John; he therefore deſires that Portland, who lodged alſo at the George, may bring it to him. The year is not added to the date of the month (June 5), but it is ſuppoſed to have been written in 1472, or 1470. We know very little elſe of this moſt deſerving and unfortunate nobleman: Ferrarius ſays, he ſtaid ſome years in Denmark, from thence he went through Germany to Venice, thence to Rome and Naples, and other the moſt celebrated cities in Italy; but at length ſettled in Florence, where " having debauched " a citizen's wife, he was ſet upon, and killed by the rage of her " huſband." But though he ſays he had theſe accounts from the annals of Scotland, yet, I think, it is without foundation, for he was but a ſhort time in Denmark, and I do not ſee what could induce him to viſit Italy. How a degraded exile was to be ſupplied with all the requiſites for ſo many removes is not mentioned, nor probably was he ſo rich: nor muſt it be forgotten that England is not enumerated amongſt the places he viſited, though here is a proof of it; nor does the conduct, which it is pretended occaſioned his death, accord with his fidelity to the Princeſs, that made him appear ſo amiable in the eyes of Mr. Paſton. I am therefore diſpoſed to think, that finding he could not be received into Scotland, he left England, and went to France; but meeting with a cold reception from that moſt timid Monarch, Lewis XI. from his fears of irritating James, he ſought protection and employment at the Court of Charles, Duke of Burgundy, in whoſe ſervice he died of chagrin, (as Buchanan and other writers mention) greatly and moſt

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deſervedly lamented by that Prince, who buried him in Antwerp, and erected a noble monument, with an epitaph ſuitable to his memory. However, I can ſcarce think his death happened, as they repreſent, ſo early as 1471; probably had he lived the huſband of the Princeſs, he might have been uſeful to the ſtate, and a powerful friend to his Sovereign in thoſe difficulties he afterwards experienced. The man who has written his character, without an idea of any one's ſeeing it except the perſon to whom his letter was addreſſed, is in the higheſt degree deſerving credit: let us then beſtow a ſigh upon the unmerited misfortunes of a moſt eſtimable young nobleman, who deſerved what he once poſſeſſed, the heart and hand of a fair Princeſs. It was in vain to think of marrying Mary to any foreign Prince, ſuch would not eſpouſe the divorced wife of a diſgraced, exiled, attainted nobleman:—the courtiers therefore ſelected for this favourite ſiſter of their Sovereign, James, the ſecond Lord Hamilton, pretending that he had been promiſed her for the bloodleſs victory his father had obtained for the kingdom, and the Princeſs was moſt preſſingly urged to permit him to lead her to the altar; but this ſhe reſolutely refuſed, until the year 1474, at which time Dean Bannantyne, the continuator of Fordun, aſſerts, that her firſt huſband, the Earl of Arran, was dead. This is highly to her honour every way. Lord Hamilton and the miniſter, for their own ſafety, choſe to have the ſanction of parliament for an alliance that had been ſo detrimental to the Boyds. His lordſhip had been a partizan of the confederate nobles in the laſt reign, but forſook them in 1471. In 1472 he was appointed one of the Ambaſſadors to treat of a peace with England, and he was of the Privy Council to K. James III. from whom he received many grants of lands to him, and to the Princeſs, who is ſtiled in them "his deareſt ſiſter, Mary Stewart;" he had Kilmarnock amongſt them, which had been the chief ſeat of Lord Arran: one of theſe grants is dated ſo early as July 12, 1471. He died Nov. 6, 1479, leaving the Princeſs again a widow, who ſpent the remainder of her days in much retirement. She lived to a great age, and ſeemed by her high deſcent and common relationſhip to be the

proper mediatrix and compoſer of the differences which aroſe between the great princes in the reign of K. James V. When John, Duke of Albany, the Regent, attempted to puniſh the Earl of Lenox for having joined the Peers confederated againſt him, and for that purpoſe had laid ſiege to the Caſtle of Hamilton, (where ſhe reſided) throwing herſelf before the Duke, ſhe beſought him to ſpare it, and liſten to a reconciliation: the ſituation of ſo princely a matron, more exalted by her virtues than her birth, had all the effect ſhe could wiſh; the ſiege was withdrawn, and the contenders ſubmitted their differences to her arbitration, as recollecting that ſhe was the daughter of K. James II. ſiſter to K. James III. aunt to K. James IV. and great aunt to their common Sovereign, K. James V. then upon the throne; ſhe was the mother of the Earl of Arran, grandmother of the Earl of Lenox, and aunt to John, Duke of Albany, the Regent.

This Princeſs had iſſue by both her huſbands; by the former ſhe had, 1. James, whom K. James III. by his charter, dated Oct. 14, 1482, reſtored to the barony of Boyd, and as adminiſtrator to the Prince, the Duke of Rothſay, he gave back the poſſeſſions of the Boyds, his anceſtors, which having been forfeited, had been granted to the heir apparent of the crown; but "Dame Mary Stewart, Lady Hamilton," his mother was to have, and enjoy them for her life: he died unmarried in 1484; he was a youth of "a fine ſpirit, and of great hopes." 2. Græcina Boyd, married firſt to Alexander, fourth Lord Forbes, and afterwards to David Kennedy, Earl of Caſſilis, who was killed at Flodden; by neither of whom ſhe had any child. The iſſue of the ſecond marriage of the Princeſs was alſo two children; they became moſt illuſtrious. 3. James, the third Lord Hamilton, was greatly truſted and beloved by K. James IV. who gave him a grant of the Iſle of Arran, and the title of Earl; and the King of France named him a Knight of the Order of the Cockle: he died in 1530, after having filled many important offices with the utmoſt honour to himſelf, and ſatisfaction to the government who employed him. James, Earl of Arran, his

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ſon and heir, was created Duke of Chatellerault, in Poitou, and Knight of the Order of St. Michael, by Francis I. King of France; he was appointed Regent of Scotland during the nonage of Mary, and declared Heir to the Crown if ſhe died without iſſue; for his virtues and relationſhip her Majeſty uſed to call him "father," in whoſe cauſe he ſuffered great misfortunes. James, his eldeſt ſon, Earl of Arran, and Duke of Chatellerault, was one of the moſt accompliſhed gentleman in Europe; he was thought of for the huſband of Q. Elizabeth, but that haughty Princeſs never ſeriouſly meant to accept any man for her lord. Mary Queen of Scots ſeemed formed for love, but was ever unfortunate in her attachments; happy in all probability had it been for her, and her ſubjects, had ſhe liſtened to this Duke, her relation, who became enamoured with her when ſhe was in France, and upon her return into Scotland he regarded her with the tendereſt affection, but being treated with a ſtudied neglect, he fell into a ſettled melancholy that greatly impaired his underſtanding; but though Mary had been inſenſible of his merit, yet he never ſhewed any reſentment, nor ever deſerted her cauſe, ſeverely as he ſuffered for it. He died iſſueleſs in 1609. John, his brother, was no leſs faithful to his Sovereign, who had ſo grateful a ſenſe of it, that when ſhe received the fatal meſſage to prepare for death, taking a ring from her finger, ſhe enjoined one of her ſervants to deliver it to her couſin, Lord John Hamilton, to witneſs her great ſenſe of his family's conſtant fidelity, and of their ſufferings on her account, requeſting it might be kept as a laſting evidence of her kindneſs: it has been conſtantly preſerved as a moſt honourable memorial. K. James VI. created him Marquis of Hamilton, a title before unknown in Scotland; his Majeſty gave him many confidential places, and often viſited him at Hamilton-Houſe, treating him with the greateſt reſpect, and calling him "father," as Q. Mary had the Duke of Chatellerault. He died in 1604. James, his ſon, had the Order of the Garter, and an Engliſh Peerage; his grandſon was created Duke of Hamilton. An heireſs took the Dukedom of Chatellerault and Hamilton, with many other titles, into a branch

of the Douglas family, who now poſſeſs them with others. 4. Elizabeth, the daughter of the Princeſs Mary and Lord Hamilton, married to Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lenox, who, by Margaret Douglas, daughter of the Earl of Angus, and Margaret, the Queen Dowager of K. James IV. was the father of K. Henry I. ſecond huſband to Mary Queen of Scots, the iſſue of which marriage was James, King of Great Britain.—So that from this Princeſs, the daughter of K. James II. deſcends the Sovereigns of the Britiſh empire.

Margaret, 2d daughter.

6. Margaret, the ſecond daughter of K. James II. is mentioned often in the hiſtories of Scotland, but omitted in the account authors give of the children of that Monarch. In the beginning of the year 1478, a treaty of marriage commenced between the Britiſh Courts relative to this Princeſs's marriage with Anthony Widville, Earl of Rivers, the brother of K. Edward IV.'s Queen; and Aug. 22, 1482, the Engliſh King granted a ſafe conduct to the Lady Margaret, with three hundred attendants of whatever dignity, who, according to the preceding contract, was to be brought through England at K. James's expence; but this was not effected, though in the December following it was again taken up: Maitland's continuator thinks it was becauſe the infamous treaty of Fotheringay, entered into by Edward and the Duke of Albany, to depoſe James, had reached him. Lord Rivers, after the death of the King, his brother-in-law, was killed at Pontefract by the uſurper, Richard III. He married twice, but neither of his wives was this Princeſs; nor do I find that ſhe ever had a huſband: Buchanan ſays, that Lord Crichton, in revenge for James III.'s debauching his wife, intrigued with this ſiſter of the King; and that ſhe at length ſo far forgot all decency, as to have a criminal paſſion for that Prince, her brother, and to have gratified it. He alſo ſays, ſhe had a daughter by Lord Crichton, who went by his own name; but, as theſe odious circumſtances are only mentioned by a writer, whoſe hatred to monarchical principles, and to the character of K. James III. are well known, they ought not to gain

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any credit, eſpecially when facts, ſtubborn facts, ſeem to contradict the probability. Lord Crichton had revolted, and been attainted before the concluſion of this treaty of marriage between the Princeſs and Lord Rivers; and as numbers of Scots diſaffected to James were at the Court of K. Edward, would not they have been happy to have had ſo good a cauſe, to throw inſuperable objections in the way of a marriage, that by binding the two Sovereigns in friendſhip, muſt have been highly prejudicial to their intereſt? and Edward, who wiſhed to honour his brother-in-law as much as poſſible, would never have propoſed the alliance, had he known ſuch a character of the lady; and muſt inſtantly have broken off the negociation, had it afterwards been divulged.

Cecily, 3d daughter.

7. Cecily, the youngeſt child of K. James II. married to William, the third Lord Crichton, who, joining in the treaſon of Alexander, Duke of Albany, his brother-in-law, was tried and convicted of it in 1483, when he loſt his poſſeſſions; but fortunately his mother enjoying the eſtate of Frendraught, it deſcended to his ſon. The iſſue of this unfortunate marriage was Margaret, who was the wife of George, Earl of Rothes, and Sir James, who had grants of ſeveral eſtates in the reigns of K. James IV. and V. in the latter of which he died. His deſcendant, Sir James Crichton, was raiſed by K. Charles I. to the title of Viſcount Frendraught, but the honours of the family were loſt by their adherence to the perſon of the miſguided James VII. of Scotland.

PART V.

SECT. II.

Alexander, Duke of Albany, ſecond Son of James II. King of Scotland.

ALEXANDER, Duke of Albany, was educated, after the premature death of the King, his father, by the Queen-mother as long as ſhe lived; by her will ſhe ordered that he ſhould be ſent to the Court of Gueldres to finiſh it; to comply with the dying injunctions of his ſurviving parent, the Council applied for, and procured a ſafe conduct from Edward IV. King of England, for him and two hundred of his attendants *; yet the public faith was moſt indecently violated, by the Engliſh taking him at ſea, and detaining him; but the Scotch Commiſſioners then negociating a peace at York, demanded as a preliminary that he ſhould be liberated, which being complied with, he was conducted to the borders of Scotland with great honour. Some time after his return, he was appointed Governor of the important town of Berwick, with very extenſive powers upon the borders; he acted with ſo much violence, and in ſo arbitrary a manner, that the great families of Hume and Hepburn were juſtly enraged, but expoſtulation was vain; his power was irreſiſtible, and the caſtle of Dunbar, of which he was alſo governor, prevented a hope of ſucceeding in driving him, and his numerous followers, from that part of the kingdom. Theſe families therefore took another and more effectual method of procuring a releaſe from the grievances they en-

* Alexander is ſtiled in the ſafe conduct, Duke of Albany, Earl of March, Lord of Annandale and Mar.

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dured; they raiſed the jealouſy of the Sovereign, by inſinuating that he entertained dangerous deſigns againſt both his perſon and government, in conjunction with the Engliſh: the miniſters were more ready to liſten than they to give the information; on the contrary, the nobility, who deſpiſed the miniſters for the meanneſs of their origin, endeavoured to ſtir up the reſentment of the Prince againſt them, and even againſt the King; but what more than any thing elſe cauſed an irreconcileable breach between the royal brothers, was the prediction artful impoſtors had pretended to have preternaturally received, that the "Scotch lion was to be devoured by his own whelps." Ridiculous as this may appear in our enlightened age, it was momentous then, when judicial aſtrology was ſought as an unerring ſcience; the Scotch Monarch was no wiſer than the other potentates, his contemporaries. Hearing his ſentence, he trembled for the conſequences; he ſaw his brothers with dread, and their deaths only could have relieved him from his fears, which, when excited, no matter by what means, every thing tends to ſtrengthen:—an old woman was produced, who alſo ſaw into futurity; ſhe confirmed James's ſuſpicions, by declaring his brother's purpoſe to deſtroy him: no time was to be loſt to prevent, what appeared to him, ſo certain; the occaſion, he judged, excuſed the remedy he wiſhed to adopt; he wrote to both of them to come to court upon a matter of urgency—the younger fell in 1476; Albany's death was alſo meditated; but, apprized of his danger, he fled to Berwick, quitting Dunbar where he had reſided, leaving it to be ſurrendered to Lord Evandale; but the garriſon eſcaped in ſmall veſſels and boats to England. Though he might have gone into that kingdom, or France, yet he had the temerity to venture to Edinburgh in diſguiſe; but the ſpies the King had diſperſed abroad ſoon conveyed intelligence to him of it, and he was arreſted, and ſent into cloſe confinement in a tower of Edinburgh Caſtle; but here his courage or preſence of mind did not deſert him:—the Council adjudged him to death—James aſſented—no doubt proof was ſufficient to condemn him, for he had carried on deſigns againſt the King and the nation; it does not however

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appear that there was any regular trial, though ſentence of death was paſſed upon him, and he was informed of it; yet pretending ignorance, he obtained acceſs for many of his friends to viſit him, who, in the keeper's preſence, affected joy at the nearneſs of his releaſe; this made the man naturally leſs ſtrict, and treat his priſoner with more tenderneſs and reſpect: a veſſel lay at Leith, ſent purpoſely from France to convey him over, if he could eſcape to it: the maſter of the veſſel informed him that he had wine to diſpoſe of; he aſked permiſſion of the perſon, in whoſe cuſtody he was, to ſend for ſome, who readily agreed to it; a faithful valet brought two caſks of malmſey, in one of them was a roll of wax, incloſing a letter, purporting that no time was to be loſt, for preſent death awaited him, and he alſo found a quantity of cord to aſſiſt him in eſcaping. Pleaſed to find theſe, he invited the keeper of the priſon to ſup, and partake of the wine, who gladly accepted the offer; the Duke's valet, the only attendant allowed him, was deſired to be ſparing in drinking, and to ſecond him in whatever he did, promiſing a reward ſuitable to his ſervices. The hour of ſupper came, mirth and good-humour abounded; the Governor aroſe, went his rounds, paid his homage to the King, who was in a diſtant apartment, faſtened the gates, ſet the watch, and returned to mirth and conviviality, accompanied by three of his men: it became late, theſe perſons retired to their beds, which were in the Duke's chamber; but their maſter, thirſty ſoul, and he, ſat down to play for more wine. The criſis arrived—Albany gave his attendant a ſignal, and immediately, with his own hands, he laid his keeper dead at his feet, by the ſtroke of a poniard he had concealed; when both together attacked the others ſurpriſed from ſleep, and weakened with their debauch; the fire had been contrived to be large, to make the effects of the wine more powerful; into it they flung ſome of the bodies; then taking the rope they uſed it, with the help of the bedding, for their deſcent down the tremendous high wall: the ſervant, who ventured firſt, broke his thigh; the Duke contrived to lengthen it, and got to the bottom ſafe; when taking up the unhappy man, he fairly gained a place where he was ſecure

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from all purſuit, carrying the companion of his flight upon his back, and together they eſcaped in the ſhip which had been provided for the purpoſe to France *; where Lewis XI. from jealouſy and in reſentment for the alliance between the Britiſh nations, received him with reſpect, intereſted himſelf to obtain a pardon from K. James, but declined to aſſiſt him with men or arms. Perhaps the attention he paid to the Duke, and the beſtowing a lady of illuſtrious rank in marriage upon him, was to alarm the fears of James the more, that he might compel him to invade England; for in 1480, James prepared to lead an army into that kingdom, but ſuddenly diſbanded it; however it did not prevent a war, for Edward IV. reſenting it, ſent the Duke of Glouceſter to lay ſiege to Berwick, which was inveſted by him in the following year. The nobles of Scotland were rouzed at ſeeing the martial ſpirit of the nation lie dormant from the ſupineneſs of James and his minions; they raiſed their vaſſals, and appointed proper generals to lead them to battle. Whilſt theſe things were performing in Britain, Albany was pining in France from diſcontent: Lewis no longer making efforts to regain him the honours he had loſt in Scotland, but regarded him as a pledge, keeping James ſteady in his attachment to himſelf, in preference to his adverſary, the King of England. Edward IV. privately negociated with him, and offered him what he appears ever to have looked up to, the Crown of Scotland. Lewis diſcovered it, and ſet a guard upon him, that he might not eſcape; but the King of England having diſpatched a ſhip, commanded by James Douglas, Albany, eluding his ſpies, embarked, and landed ſafely in Edward's dominions; and that Sovereign, whoſe munificence was equal to his valour, received the Duke with cordiality, and nobly recompenſed the faithful Douglas. In the beginning of June 1482, the Duke of Albany had a conference with the Engliſh Monarch in the Caſtle of Fotheringay, articles

* Lindſay ſays, the Duke of Albany's eſcape was not diſcovered until nine o'clock the next morning, when ſearch was made for the Governor, who was found near the door with the half conſumed bodies of his ſervants; and this too at a time when the nobles were met, to fix upon a place where the Duke was to be beheaded.

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were drawn up on the 10th of that month, and acceded to the following day; nothing can be more detrimental than they were, to the honour of Albany; ambition, aided by revenge, overpowered every ſentiment that ought to have actuated his conduct as a Prince, a brother, and a man. He took the ſtile of King of Scotland, owing it as a gift from Edward, to whom and his heirs he bound himſelf, promiſing to aſſiſt them againſt all earthly Princes or perſons in all their quarrels; and ſix months after he had, by his power, been put in poſſeſſion of the greateſt part of Scotland, he was to ſwear fealty and do homage for the Crown, and alſo to give up to Edward the town and caſtle of Berwic, the caſtle of Lochmaben, the counties of Lidsdale, Eſkdale and Annandale; and fourteen days after he had been conducted by an Engliſh army to Edinburgh, utterly to renounce, and never to renew, the league with France; and if he could rid himſelf of all other women "according to Chriſtian church," he ſhould within a year, or ſooner, marry the Lady Cecily, Edward's daughter, then promiſed to his nephew, the Duke of Rothſay; if he could not get free, not to ſuffer his eldeſt ſon to marry, but by order of the King of England, and to ſome lady of his blood: for theſe infamous conceſſions Edward promiſes to reduce Scotland to his obedience, and to ſupport him in it againſt James, who then held the Crown of that realm. It appears, ſays Guthrie, that theſe agreements were drawn up, from their ſtyle and manner, by a Scotchman, and thence infers that Edward gave him his own terms—terms that muſt brand his name with a baſeneſs ſcarcely to be paralleled in the annals of any nation. Pleaſed with the project, however, he marched to the country that he had thus ſhamefully bartered, accompanying the Duke of Glouceſter, afterwards K. Richard III. The Scottiſh nobles aſſembled again their tetainers to withſtand theſe invaders, but firſt they determined to execute their vengeance againſt the worthleſs courtiers that had engroſſed the ear of majeſty; ſeizing therefore the five obnoxious domeſtics, they hung them at the bridge of Lawder, the uſual place of execution, and this in the preſence of James, in defiance of the laws of their country, of

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their duty to their Sovereign, and even of decency. After this barbarous exhibition, they led their King a captive to Edinburgh Caſtle, and then diſſolved their army, forgetting that Albany and Glouceſter were entering Scotland at the head of 22,500 fighting men, and that there was a fleet to ſecond and aſſiſt them. The royal brothers hearing this unexpected news, met no oppoſition, but leaving the ſiege of Berwic, they marched to the capital, where they found James a priſoner, but his nobles attached to his perſon; and though the Dukes had, from pretended motives of humanity, done no miſchief in their march, yet the people treated Albany with coldneſs; they pitied James, commiſerating his ſituation, and the ſcandalous treatment he had experienced. Surpriſed and diſappointed, the royal Dukes remained quieſcent in Edinburgh, more like viſitants than warlike chieftains come to overthrow the government, and depoſe the Sovereign: Glouceſter only demanded the repayment of a juſt debt due to England; Albany, as if forgetting, and not wiſhing the Scotch nobility to know the traitorous deſign he came upon, (though both they and the King were well apprized of it) only ſued to be reinſtated in what he had been deprived of, and Aug. 2, the confederated Peers agreed, that if the "noble and mighty Prince Alexander, Duke of Albany, "would in all things be a good and true ſubject to their Sovereign, "they would free his mighty lordſhip" from all bodily harms, and prevail with the King to reſtore him to all he had poſſeſſed before he left the kingdom; and that an indemnity ſhould be given to all his followers, except ſuch as had been excepted by the King's highneſs in his laſt proclamation made in parliament, if that henceforth they would behave themſelves as true lieges. Albany's guilt and aſtoniſhment rendered him dumb; he durſt not plead for Douglas, his confederate—Glouceſter ſettled his terms with Scotland—the former felt equally contemptible which way ſoever he looked; he had betrayed Scotland, deceived England, and deſerted France; he had no option but to reconcile himſelf with his own family; he therefore paid his reſpects to the Queen, and the Duke of Rothſay in Sterling Caſtle, where he was received with every token of affec-

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tion, and was prevailed upon by the Queen to releaſe the King from confinement. This taſk he undertook, knowing that the merit would be all his own. James wiſhed to owe it to him, rather than to his nobles who had impriſoned him; it was more for his honour to come from a Prince of the blood than the executioners of his miniſters, and it was eaſier to reward one, than many. Albany returning privately to Edinburgh called forth the loyal part of the inhabitants, and by two heralds demanded entrance, and the liberation of their Sovereign: the Engliſh army was near, and at his command; the nobles therefore making a virtue of neceſſity, opened their gates, and the Duke led the King away to Holyrood-houſe, where James declared him his prime miniſter: all bent the knee to him—this revived his former ambition, and awakened all the jealouſies of James; and he had now too much reaſon for them, diſcovering that whilſt Albany reſided at Dunbar, he had given a commiſſion, dated Jan. 12, 1483, "to his moſt dear couſins and "counſellors, the Earl of Angus, Lord Gray, and Sir James "Liddel," to treat with the King of England, concerning the agreement entered into between them when they were at Fotheringay Caſtle; and that the Engliſh King having nominated Feb. 9, the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Scroop, and Sir William Parr to confer with them, they had concluded, two days afterwards, to ratify the articles before agreed to, and which were ſpecified:—James was to be dethroned; Alexander to be his ſucceſſor; England was never to ceaſe from war until it was effected; the Duke of Glouceſter, and the Earl of Northumberland were to be upon the borders with 3000 archers in conſtant pay, and if any opportunity offered "a notable army" was to be raiſed, that, joining with the Duke's, ſhould be ſufficient, "with God's grace," to compleat the work. The Scotch commiſſioners obliged themſelves by their "faiths, honours, and knighthood," that upon failure of heirs to the Duke, they, their friends, vaſſals, and dependants, ſhould never live under the allegiance of any other Prince but the King of England, and that they would keep from their preſent Sovereign all the ſtrong holds; the Earl of Douglas was to be reſtored to all

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his poſſeſſions, conformably to an agreement between that nobleman and the Earl of Angus; and that when the Duke was at liberty to marry, and had become King of Scotland, he ſhould eſpouſe one of the daughters of K. Edward, and that without any portion or expence whatſoever; yet ſhe was to become Queen. Such was the agreement between "the moſt excellent Prince Edward, by the grace of God, King of England and France, and "the high and mighty Prince Alexander, Duke of Albany." But He, who governs all the kingdoms of the earth, rendered their mighty projects nugatory; Edward ſuddenly was hurried to the grave at a premature age, and Glouceſter, his brother, was too deeply buſied in effecting the uſurpation of his diadem, to liſten to the more diſtant proſpects that Albany's crimes opened to his view in Scotland *; the Duke, therefore, deſerted by his ally, and his treaſon divulged to his brother, fled from Dunbar into England with Lord Crichton; James ſummoned them to anſwer for their miſdeeds, and upon their non-appearance they were declared traitors, their honours and eſtates forfeited; but Dunbar and the Caſtle of Crichton were too ſtrongly fortified to be compelled to ſubmit; however, fearing the worſt, the former was given to the Engliſh. Richard having obtained the Crown, treated Albany and Douglas with marks of reſpect: France wiſhed to place his rival Richmond upon the Engliſh throne, and Scotland had no reaſon to refuſe aſſiſtance; he therefore paid them ſo much attention, as to admit them to be witneſſes of a treaty concluded June 25, 1483, at the city of York, with Portugal; and about a month afterwards the five hundred horſe, he had been prevailed upon to lend them, to make an impreſſion upon the South of Scotland, was enabled to act; but by the bravery and patriotiſm of two gentlemen, of the name of Johnſton, the Scotch borderers were collected, a battle fought at Kirkonnel, and the invaders defeated: the learned but

* K. Edward IV. might be ſaid to have taught Glouceſter his wicked uſurpation, by aiding Albany in his intended wickedneſs; and perhaps James III. by his firm belief of the witch's prediction, led Albany alſo to credit it.

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turbulent Douglas was made a priſoner, and obliged to profeſs himſelf a monk in the Monaſtery of Lindores, and Albany owed his ſafety only to the fleetneſs of his horſe. Recovering Engliſh ground, he repaired again to court, but it was only to have the mortification of knowing that Richard, to win the Scotch Monarch from the cauſe of his opponent, was making a treaty and alliance with him, ſo that all the hopes of Albany vaniſhed as a dream; however, he would not quit the borders, even whilſt Richard and James were ſtill negociating, but continued making excurſions at the head of a flying troop, though without effect; and finding that the former potentate had deſerted him in the treaty, he reſolved to leave Britain, and go again to the continent; and by the help of John, ſon of Sir John Liddel, he effected it. Charles VIII. received him with kindneſs, notwithſtanding his ill conduct, and perhaps too with the conſent of his brother; but he ſurvived but a ſhort time, for tilting with the Duke of Orleans, a ſplinter of the ſpear of his antagoniſt ſtruck him ſo deep into ſome part of his body, that it occaſioned his death in 1484, after an active, but moſt diſgraceful life. Little need be ſaid of this Prince's character, his hiſtory having ſufficiently ſhewn it; he had no pleaſure but in arms and war horſes. Lindſay gives this ſingular deſcription of his perſon:—"He was (ſays he) of mid ſtature, broad ſhouldered, "and well proportioned in all his members, and eſpecially in his "face, that is to ſay, broad-faced, red noſed, great eared, and "of a very awful countenance, when he pleaſed to ſhew himſelf "unto his friends."

The Duke married twice; firſt, Catharine, daughter of William, Earl of Orkney and Caithneſs, by a lady of the Douglas family; but this was not looked upon as a marriage according to the canons of the church; it appears chiefly ſo, becauſe the parties moſt intereſted wiſhed it otherwiſe, for the church often gave diſpenſations, and authoriſed a much nearer relationſhip, or could have qualified any other marriage, though there were greater impediments. In 1476, when he was in France, and whilſt his firſt

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wife was living, Lewis XI. obtained for him Ann, the daughter of the Earl of Bologne, one of the greateſt matches in that kingdom. Notwithſtanding this marriage, in 1482 he was negociating with K. Edward IV. to conclude another between him and that Monarch's daughter, Cecily, if he ſhould free himſelf from matrimonial engagements. This Princeſs had been contracted with his nephew, the Duke of Rothſay; Abercrombie thinks that both his wives were then living; he ſeemed to have as little fidelity to them as he had loyalty to his brother. By each of theſe ladies he had a ſon.

1. Alexander, a Prince of mean capacity, who, when his father's attainder was taken off, and his honours and eſtates were reſtored to his family, was ſet aſide as born of a marriage not legally contracted, though it is well known that the iſſue of ſuch marriage at that period was always allowed to be legitimate; but neither his half brother nor the Parliament paid any attention to his claim; on the contrary, they inſiſted upon his going into the church, that it might effectually preclude him from all hopes of poſſeſſing his father's inheritance, and ſecure it to his brother. He became Biſhop of Murry, and Abbot of Incheffray.

2. John, Duke of Albany and Regent, of whom in the next Section.

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SECT. III.

John, Duke of Albany, Regent of Scotland, Son of Alexander, Duke of Albany, and Grandſon of K. James II.

JOHN, the only ſon of Alexander, Duke of Albany, by Ann, daughter of the Earl of Bologne, was educated in France; but when the Scots found that the Queen Dowager of K. James IV. had married again, they ſent an embaſſy to invite him to Scotland, and take upon him the Regency of the kingdom during the minority of his relation, K. James V. which he accepting, upon his coming over was received into the capital with great ſplendour, accompanied with the Queen-mother, and attended by the nobility and officers of ſtate. The Parliament, as has been mentioned, reſtored him, at the expence of his half-brother, to all that the Albany branch had loſt by his father's attainder.

Notwithſtanding theſe ſubſtantial expreſſions of regard, he placed but little confidence in the natives, whoſe manners were diſtaſteful to him: a mutual diſlike enſued, which occaſioned his returning to France, but not before he had placed thoſe perſons about the minor King, whoſe fidelity he could truſt, putting French garriſons in the moſt important caſtles, and taking with him many of the principal perſons of the Scotch nation. By theſe cautious means he effectually preſerved his office of Regent, though he could not the quiet of the kingdom, for deadly feuds broke out in every part of it; many aſſaſſinations diſgrace the period, ſo that he found him-

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ſelf compelled to viſit Scotland again. Having ſettled order, he endeavoured to ſtir them up to invade England, under pretence of revenging themſelves for the death of the late King, and their fathers, at the battle of Flodden; but they, wiſely finding that he acted more to oblige France than to ſerve Scotland, were averſe to the meaſure. For this reaſon, he paſſed over to the Continent for a reinforcement, hoping it would have altered their ſentiments; but as they ſtill remained unmoved, and continued jealous of him, he aſked and procured an indemnity from the Parliament for any errors he had unintentionally committed whilſt he preſided at the helm, and then finally left the kingdom, after an adminiſtration that laſted nine years. He was well received at the Court of France, where he was much beloved; he had aſſigned him a place between the Archbiſhop of Langres, and the Duke of Alençon. This Prince equalled his father in courage, and excelled him in every thing elſe, eſpecially in all thoſe virtues that ought particularly to be conſpicuous in perſons of exalted birth. He died in 1536, leaving no child by his wife, Anna de la Tour, a daughter and coheireſs of John, Earl of Auvergne, of the houſe of Vendoſme. But he left a natural daughter, Leonora, who married to John del Hoſpital, Count of Choiſy.

There is a gold medal of this Prince with a full ſhield of arms; on the baron's ſide are four quarters, the firſt and ſecond have a lion, with a label of three points, and under the lion; the third has the arms of the Iſle of Man, and the fourth St. Andrew's croſs. On the femme ſide there are alſo four quarters, the firſt and fourth charged with ſemme of fleur de lis, a caſtle; the ſecond and third bear three (ſomething like quils); over all a coat of pretence, charged with three pears, or ſomething nearly reſembling them. Upon the ſhield is a coronet of nine points. The legend runs, IOANNIS ALBANIA, DUC GUBERN. Reverſe has an eagle diſplayed, its head encircled with a glory, with a large croſs above; under is a ſmall ſhield, ſurrounded with the order of the ſtar; and round the whole this inſcription, 1524 SUB UMBRA TVARVM.

PART VI.

James III. King of Scotland.

JAMES III. was born in the year 1453; he was proclaimed and crowned in military pomp at Kelſo Auguſt 11, 1460: his education was chiefly committed to the Queen, his mother, and the affairs of ſtate in his minority were aſſigned to ſome of the moſt elevated nobility, with the Chancellor Kennedy at their head. His majority evinced that he miſtook the genius of the people he governed; like his father, he was convinced that the nobles were haughty, ambitious, and the deſpots of their domains; but he forgot that they were powerful, revengeful, and could not brook the contempt with which he treated them, nor bear to ſee him ſecluded in his palace, giving the entire government of the kingdom to mean foreigners. His miniſters were, Cockran, a maſon, created Earl of Mar; Rogers, a muſician; Fortiſan, a fencing maſter; Leonard, a ſmith, and Homil, a taylor. Lewis XI. protected the barber who governed his dominions in his name, but James's nobles indignantly hung up theſe men. This could not cloſe the breach, for the king ſtill regarding his nobles only as the creatures of his predeceſſor's favour, whom he might debaſe or ſuperſede with equal eaſe and juſtice, and they beheld him as only the firſt feudatory in the kingdom: the contention was unequal; he ſaw himſelf a priſoner in his own capital; his unworthy brother uniting with the Engliſh ſeated with an army in the bowels of his kingdom; and at length, when he was ſuffering himſelf to be guided in all things by his Parliament, and attempting to govern with juſtice and moderation, ſetting his only child at their head, the barons led their retainers againſt him; James fled from the field of battle before fortune had

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declared againſt him. Falling from his horſe, and receiving ſome injury by it, he was carried to the cottage of a miller, and being queſtioned whom he was, and unguardedly ſaying, "I was this morning your king," one of thoſe that were called in, an enemy to his cauſe, ſtabbed him to the heart, and he expired immediately, July 11, 1488, when he had lived thirty-five years, and reigned twenty-eight. The revolters, ſatisfied with his death, and fearing the effects of the penitential remorſe of his ſon, who was to become their Sovereign, they conveyed the corpſe the 25th of the ſame month to the Abbey of Cambuſkeneth, near Stirling, founded by K. David I. and buried it with great funeral pomp. Neither the ſanctity of the place, nor its being the reſting-place of entombed majeſty, could prevent the fury of the religious bigots, under the violently vindictive Knox, from deſtroying it. The laſt Prior, forſaking a cowl for an Earldom, uſed the materials to erect him a ſeat in the neighbourhood. James in his perſon was above the uſual ſtature, well formed, and his features were ſo regular, that he has been called the handſomeſt man in Europe, when Edward IV. was no more; his complection was ſwarthy, and his hair black. He was punctual in all his religious duties, but they ſeemed tinged with ſuperſtition; this, with his frugality, won him the hearts of the common people, whoſe friend he invariably ſeems to have been; yet he was a cruel and unnatural brother; the immenſe wickedneſs of Albany cannot excuſe the death of the Earl of Mar, nor the cruelty exerciſed againſt the Princeſs Mary; the inſatiable vengeance with which he purſued Lord Arran, his brother-in-law, ſhews a revengeful diſpoſition, as his open enmity to his nobility did his impolicy; but all this happened before his judgment was well formed. Had he been permitted by them to have reigned in the manner he had at length adopted, his life would have been a bleſſing to all; but when he began to do well, he ceaſed to exiſt. He was faithful to his friends when he could think for himſelf; he was too elegant for the people he preſided over, who miſtook refinement for luxurious indolence; had he united, like his grandfather, the buſtle of the camp with the elegancies of a court, he would

have been feared by the great, as well as beloved by the people. His munificence ſhews that his œconomy was not the effect of a parſimonious ſpirit, but a laudable frugality. In fine, James was a mixt character, that would have ſhone with brightneſs had he been born in a more civilized age, or governed a nation who had a greater taſte for arts than arms: the laws enacted by him were juſt and expedient, and Scotland was more indebted to him than to moſt of her kings. He had three devices—the firſt was a hen ſheltering her brood, with "*Non dormit*;" the ſecond, two rocks placed in a tempeſtuous ſea, with "*Durabo.*" His unfortunate deſcendant, K. Charles I. uſed the ſame. The third was taken up when he ſaw the conſpirators headed by the Prince his ſon; it repreſented a large growing vine-tree watered with wine, which, inſtead of refreſhing, made it fade; the motto, "*Mea ſic mihi proſunt.*" Theſe imprint upon our minds that James had great taſte; they are, what they ought to be, ſimple and intelligent. The reader will be ſurpriſed when he is told that "the public edifices, erected in his reign, ex-"celled in taſte and magnificence all on this ſide the Alps, and "rivalled even thoſe of Italy in its then ſtate."

The Queen of K. James III.

Margaret, Queen of K. James III.

King Edward IV. of England, that he might deprive the Lancaſtrian branch of the royal family of ſo powerful an ally as Scotland, propoſed a marriage between the young Monarch, K. James III. with an Engliſh lady, whom his counſellors could agree upon; and the better to cement the peace of the kingdoms, recommended ſeveral intermarriages between the greateſt families in both courts: this was alſo to ſtill any reſentment that might be entertained againſt him for having declined the hand of the Princeſs Royal of Scotland. But James's counſellors, ever attached to France, refuſed the proffered alliance; nor would they accept of a daughter of the Duke of Burgundy, becauſe it would have been equally diſagreeable to their old allies. They acted wiſely in preferring the Princeſs

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Margaret, Queen of K. James III.

Margaret, daughter of Chriſtiern I. who held the ſceptres of the three nations of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, and for theſe reaſons: it was more honourable; and as that Monarch was juſtly diſpleaſed that the long arrearage of the tribute money for the Iſles of Orkney and Shetland, called the annual of Norway, was not paid, it might prevent his taking any violent means to enforce a demand, the juſtice of which they did not pretend to deny, and knew that no time could be more opportune to exact it, than when the Sovereign of Norway held alſo the two other northern kingdoms, and a minor ſat upon their throne *. James, young as he was, in 1648 wrote a conciliating letter to Chriſtiern. The Parliament in 1648 (who had two years before appointed a committee that was to particularly attend to this alliance) iſſued two commiſſions; by one, two right reverend Prelates, the Chancellor, his prime miniſter, his almoner and confeſſor, the Archdeacon of Glaſgow, and his two armour bearers, were impowered to viſit the empire of Germany, the kingdoms of France, England, Spain and Denmark, the dukedoms of Burgundy, Britany, Savoy, and other European countries, for a ſuitable match for their Sovereign; the other commiſſion authoriſed them to treat with the Northern Monarch particularly; both are dated at Edinburgh July 28, in that year; the former was merely to accelerate what both parties wiſhed to agree to, a union between James and the Princeſs, and by that

* Chriſtiern had demanded theſe arrears from K. James II. who, with the other's conſent, made Charles VII. of France, their common ally, referee. Their Ambaſſadors laid the matter before that Monarch in 1460; the Scots demanded, as a baſis of a future negociation, the entire abolition of the annual of Norway, the uniting the iſlands in diſpute to the Crown of Scotland for ever, and the payment of 100,000 crowns in ready money as a marriage portion with the Princeſs, that ſhe might be enabled to appear with a ſplendour equal to her rank. The Danes ſaying they had no authority to conclude ſuch terms, the parties withdrew, and returned to their royal employers. In the interim, James II. was cut off, ſo that all that could then be done, was, that Charles VII. ſhould obtain a truce between them; which Chriſtiern liſtened eaſily to, becauſe he was extremely deſirous of placing the Crown of Scotland upon his daughter Margaret's head.

to compromiſe their differences about the arrearage. This heterogeneous aſſemblage of characters arrived in Denmark in the beginning of September, but the treaty was not concluded until May 10, following; the conditions were, that the annual of Norway ſhould ceaſe for ever; that the Princeſs ſhould have 60,000 florins of gold for her portion, 10,000 to be paid before ſhe left her native country, and the Orkney Iſles were pledged for the payment of the remainder; but when the debt was diſcharged, they were to return to the Crown of Norway; if Margaret became James's widow, ſhe was to have the palace of Linlithgow, and the Caſtle of Down, in Monteith, with their appurtenances, for her places of reſidence; and the tierce, or third part of the ordinary revenues of the Crown, if ſhe choſe to remain in Scotland; but if ſhe returned to Denmark, to accept inſtead of it 120,000 florins of the Rhine, deducting the 50,000 due for the remainder of her fortune; ſhe was in no caſe to marry an Engliſhman, or any ſubject within the juriſdiction of England. However, before the royal bride could leave Denmark, Chriſtiern was obliged to apply to, and obtain from the Commiſſioners, that he ſhould pay only 2000 florins in hand, and accept the mortgage of the Shetland Iſles for the repayment of the other 8000; the revolt of the Swedes occaſioned this. The young Queen was conducted to Scotland by the Ambaſſadors Plenipotentiaries, accompanied with many illuſtrious ſubjects of her father, and was received with a magnificence ſuitable to her birth, and the dignity ſhe came to poſſeſs. She landed at the Forth, and was conducted thence to the capital with vaſt ſplendour: the nuptials were celebrated in the church of the Abbey of Holy-rood, July 10, 1469, amidſt a vaſt concourſe of nobility, natives, and foreigners: in the November following ſhe was crowned, the three orders of the ſtate attending. Margaret was only ſixteen years of age when ſhe became James's queen. Ferrarius, a native of Piedmont, who had viſited moſt of the ſplendid courts of Europe, profeſſes that the feſtivities, given on account of the nuptials, exceeded any thing of the kind he had ever ſeen upon ſuch an occaſion; the trade Scotland carried on enabling James to make ſuch a diſplay. The fo-

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reigner already quoted ſays, Chriſtiern's daughter was one of the greateſt beauties, and one of the moſt accompliſhed Princeſſes of that age; and that her virtues equalled, if not ſurpaſſed, her perſonal charms. James, who was remarkably handſome, entirely engaged her affections, and ſhe had the prudence not to intereſt herſelf with the management of public affairs, except to ſoothe and compoſe the violent animoſities that diſturbed the repoſe of the King, her huſband, and of the ſtate; and it was much owing to her, that James was extricated from his confinement by the nobility; ſhe was even ſilent to the injury James did her by his amours. Her death happened in 1484, when not quite thirty years of age, "juſtly regretted as a Queen, a wife, and a mother." Even Buchanan allows that "ſhe was of ſingular beauty and probity, and "that by her good graces ſhe moderated the unbridled appetites "and efforts of her huſband," who certainly was not enough ſenſible of the treaſure he poſſeſſed. This, with the diſtracted ſtate of the kingdom, led her to a very premature grave. Her remains were depoſited in the abbey church of Cambuſkeneth, February 29, following her death.

James, left a widower at ſo early an age, thought of marrying again; and in 1487 a treaty was ſigned between him and K. Henry VII. of England, and for the further increaſe of love and amity between the kingdoms, a marriage, it was agreed, ſhould be contracted between the ſaid K. James and Queen Elizabeth, late conſort to K. Edward IV. with ſeveral other alliances between the royal families. In the following July the Britiſh Monarchs were to have an interview, and the truce was lengthened until Sept. 1, 1489. Both the Sovereigns had their aim in this marriage; each was deſirous, and found it neceſſary for them to have the friendſhip of the other; it cut off all hope of their rebellious ſubjects diſturbing the tranquillity of their government. Henry wiſhed to remove far from his preſence a mother-in-law he was averſe to; but this intended union with her was fatal to James, his powerful chieftains knowing their own demerits, and juſtly fearing that all the cri-

minal projects they had engaged in, would be laid open by his new conſort, who had been greatly truſted in her late huſband's reign, and who was, they knew, "an active, ſubtle, deſigning woman;" and as James had ſworn to his Parliament that he would not pardon treaſon, or any other of the greateſt crimes, for ſeven years, they roſe in arms as one man, led their united forces to Bannockburn, from whence the unwarlike king fled, and by their procurement was followed and aſſaſſinated in cold blood, as he lay defenceleſs, and languiſhing upon a mean couch in the cottage of a miller.

Margaret, Queen of K. James III.

Children of K. James III. and Q. Margaret.

Younger children of K. James III. by Margaret, his Queen.

1. James, who, ſucceeding to the Crown, was ſtiled the IVth. See Part VII.

James, afterwards King.

2. James, generally called Alexander, but he was baptized by the former name, moſt probably from a deſire that in caſe his elder brother died, his father might be ſucceeded by a ſon of his own chriſtian name. He was born in the year 1476, and at the font created Marquis of Ormond; and January 1480-1, the earldom of Roſs was granted him. Shaw, Abbot of Paiſley, had the care of his education committed to him. Young as he was, in 1487 it was agreed between his father and K. Henry VII. of England, that there ſhould be a treaty of marriage ſet on foot between "the High "and Mighty Prince James, Marquis of Ormond, Earl of Roſs, "and Lord of Brechen, and a right noble lady, Catharine, the "third daughter of Edward IV. late King of England, and ſiſter "to Princeſs Elizabeth, then Queen of England:" but this marriage never took effect. The King alſo, January 29, 1488-9, raiſed him to the ducal honour, but though the title of Albany was forfeited, yet James either conſidered it as in obeyance, or from diſlike to the characters of thoſe who had borne it, gave him that of Roſs; in the patent he is ſtiled "James our ſecond ſon, Duke of Roſs, "Marquis of Ormond, Earl of Edradale, or Ardmanach, Lord

James, called Alexander, Duke of Roſs, Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, and Chancellor.

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Younger children of K. James III. by Margaret, his Queen.

" of Brechen and Nevar." At the age of twelve, his father falling by the hands of his ſubjects, he was left under the guardianſhip of his brother, K. James IV. but the Parliament gave the tuition of him to Lord Hales; though his Majeſty had ſuch a grateful ſenſe of Shaw's great care of his pupil, that he erected the town of Paiſley into a "burgh of barony in his favour." Whether it was feared that he might act the ſame part that his uncle had, or that it was ſuppoſed the church offered him a better proviſion than he would poſſeſs otherwiſe, is unknown; but when he took holy orders, his inclination could not have been conſulted at his age, we may ſuppoſe, and upon the death of Schevez in 1498, he was nominated to ſucceed him in the biſhopric of St. Andrew's, and though then only in his twenty-ſecond year, Pope John II. at the ſolicitation of his brother, K. James IV. diſpenſed with the canons, which diſallowed one ſo young to enjoy ſo high a dignity; but as it was neceſſary that he ſhould attend the Papal Court, probably he applied to, and obtained from K. Henry VII. a ſafe paſſport, enabling him to travel through England, that he might the better get over to the Continent. He muſt have made much expedition to Rome, for he returned to Scotland early enough to ſucceed the Earl of Huntley in the important office of Chancellor of the kingdom; ſtill better to ſupport his illuſtrious birth, and great dignity, he had the valuable abbey of Dumfermling given him, to hold in commendam; no doubt had he lived a little longer, he would alſo have received the dignity of Cardinal, but unfortunately he died in 1564, at the early age of twenty-eight years, and was burried in the chancel of his cathedral church, amongſt the remains of his predeceſſors. I think it ſingular that his titles were claſſed, as we ſee them, in his charters; in them he is ſtiled James, Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, Duke of Roſs, Marquis of Ormond, Earl of Ardmanach, Lord of Brechen and Nevar, perpetual Commendatory of the Monaſtery of Dumfermling, and Chancellor of the kingdom of Scotland.

John, Earl of Mar.

3. John, Earl of Mar, who died unmarried. In 1490, the

Commiſſioners for collecting and aſcertaining the royal revenue were alſo intruſted with the management of the appointments left by K. James III. to this Prince, and his brother, the Duke of Roſs: their own eſtates were ſo large as to be deemed ſufficient to ſupport them *.

PART VI.

Younger children of K. James III. by Margaret, his Queen.

* It is not known that K. James III. had any natural child, though he indulged himſelf with other ladies than his Queen; he is accuſed of ſeducing the beautiful wife of Lord Crichton; and the confederated nobles, amongſt other aſſertions, upbraided him in 1482 of keeping a miſtreſs, whom he called the "Daiſy."

PART VII.

James IV. King of Scotland.

JAMES IV. was born upon St. Patrick's day, in the year 1473, an event ſo agreeable to the Court of Denmark, that her Sovereign releaſed all claim to the Orkney Iſlands in favour of the Crown of Scotland. After the violent death of his father, K. James III. he was recognized as his ſucceſſor by the Convention of the States, and in June, 1488, the ſolemnity of his coronation was performed in Edinburgh. James poſſeſſed many of the great qualities that render a Monarch truly reſpected; in the firſt point of view was the ſteady, inflexible manner in which he diſtributed juſtice, and the better to effect this, he travelled about his dominions to ſee that the laws were duly obſerved; thoſe guilty againſt the ſtate were certain to receive the puniſhment their crimes deſerved; nor was his mercy leſs conſpicuous, for he pardoned all his perſonal enemies. By a conduct ſo highly praiſe-worthy, he won the veneration and love of all his ſubjects; he had ever the command of himſelf, for his countenance never changed, ſo as to expreſs anger or reſentment againſt any one, however great the provocation. In manly exerciſes he had no ſuperior, and he excelled all his contemporaries in bearing the fatigues of a camp. This, with his being juſt, merciful, and liberal, rendered his government more reſpected at home than any of his predeceſſors, and Scotland was by him brought to act its part upon the great theatre of Europe. He ſaw its maritime ſituation, and knew the riches that commerce procures: his ſubjects traded in their own veſſels, and to protect them he built a fleet, the moſt ſplendid of any in Europe; the Michael, Margaret, and James, were the largeſt ſhips in the world. With this navy he pro-

tected his friends, and chaſtiſed his enemies; his couſin Charles, Duke of Gueldres, was reſtored to Gueldres and Juliers, chiefly by the men and money this fleet conveyed to him, though thoſe principalities were then in the poſſeſſion of Charles, Duke of Burgundy, one of the moſt powerful Sovereigns in Chriſtendom: it releaſed his uncle John, King of Denmark, from the difficulties he was involved in by the revolt of Sweden and Norway, and he vindicated the honour of his flag againſt England, Portugal, the Flemiſh and Dutch; his Admirals returning home laden with the rich capture of the veſſels of thoſe people; and to puniſh the cruelty of the two latter, Barton ſent his Sovereign caſks filled with the heads of ſuch as he took, treating them as pirates. By ſuch a conduct as this, there was not a potentate, however great, but what kept up a correſpondence with, and courted his friendſhip; and the ſplendour in which he lived exceeded that of the richeſt and moſt powerful, and it was equally elegant as ſplendid. Foreigners of the higheſt worth flocked to Scotland to partake of the pleaſures his court afforded, or to participate of his bounty; the martial tilts and tournaments were here in perfection; Latin was ſpoke, and written with greater purity than any where elſe, and the Muſes found in James a paſſionate admirer and profuſe patron: his palaces were ſuperb and numerous, and the richneſs of himſelf and his nobles cauſed wonder and admiration; for he had the art of winning them to his perſon, and to his court, a thing unknown before, where, from the ſplendour of the Sovereign, they were taught ſubmiſſion to his laws, and affection for himſelf; ſo that had he lived long, Scotland might much ſooner have loſt the feudal ſyſtem, and have ſeen a loyal and dutiful nobility, inſtead of factious and vindictive chieftains, armed alternately againſt their Sovereign or themſelves, ſetting majeſty and law equally at defiance: happy too, had James been imitated in this flattering condeſcenſion. This magnificence has been highly blamed, as inconſiſtent both with the ſmall extent and poverty of his dominions; and it has been ſaid that he died opportunely for his own reputation, as otherwiſe he muſt have accumulated a debt he would never have known how to

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diſcharge; but I cannot ſubſcribe to this opinion; his own revenue was conſiderable, he received a yearly ſum from England, and often had remittances from France; but above all, the money his navy produced him muſt have been very great, the ſhips of Portugal, of the Flemiſh and Dutch, which he took were loaded with the richeſt cargoes; it is probable too that he often was concerned in merchandize, and obtained great ſums by it; and Ruddiman allows that the valuable metals were never ſo plentiful in Scotland as in his reign; nor muſt it be forgotten that he firſt worked the gold mines diſcovered in his kingdom. His greateſt foibles were ſqueezing money from the purſes of his ſubjects to fill his own coffers *; in ſhewing a marked diſlike to Parliaments; in an unbounded paſſion for the fair ſex; in yielding to early prejudices againſt England; and in his partiality for France; for this terminated his life and reign. Henry VII. and VIII. ever treated him as a ſon, and brother; and the latter, to ſhew the entire confidence he had in him, offered when he declared war againſt France, to create him Duke of York, and leave him Regent of England when he paſſed into the former kingdom: yet regardleſs of this, of a ſolemn treaty of peace, and of that duplicity which had ever marked the conduct of the Gallican Court to his predeceſſors, he had the weakneſs, from the vanity that aroſe from the attention the Chriſtian powers had paid him, to conclude one of the moſt extravagant treaties that the annals of Europe can witneſs, binding himſelf to protect Lewis XII. and Charles, Duke of Gueldres, in "defiance of the Pope and all Italy, of the Emperor and all Germany, Henry VIII. and all his dominions in England, Ireland, or elſewhere; of the King of Arragon and all Spain; the Governeſs of the Netherlands, and all Holland, Brabant, Flanders; the State of Venice, and the Cantons of Switzerland." The Kings of the houſes of Bruce and Stuart had been accuſtomed to unite with France in guaranteeing the ſucceſſion of their Crowns to

* Theſe ſums, which James IV. obtained improperly, he did not hoard; and he had the prudence, if not the virtue, to diſcontinue the practice, and to puniſh the Empſons and Dudleys of Scotland.

to their deſcendants, becauſe the Kings of England claimed a right to both kingdoms; Henry VII. and VIII. had each ſigned treaties of peace with James, which none of the former Kings of England had done on that account for a very long ſeries of years, and by it had virtually renounced all title to the Crown of Scotland; yet did he, againſt the ſenſe of his ſubjects, againſt the earneſt entreaties of his amiable Queen, then great with child, not only ſign this treaty, but to ratify an extravagant demand made upon him by the Queen of France, who ſtiled him "her knight," though ſhe was not perſonally known to him, nor either young or beautiful, to invade the dominions of his more powerful brother-in-law, and this only that he might "break a ſpear in honour of her Chriſtian Majeſty." But as if one falſe ſtep was only a prelude to another, he ſuffered himſelf to be inſnared by the beauty of the daughter of Lady Ford, and betrayed by the mother; two captives he ſeized whilſt in England, perhaps purpoſely thrown in his way as decoys; ſo that his return to Scotland was cut off. At Flodden the armies engaged, and as he ſcorned either to retreat, or to wait at a ſmall diſtance the event, he fell Sept. 9, 1513, ſurrounded with the dead bodies of his loyal and faithful nobles. Such was the end of "a battle "raſhly undertaken, unfortunately conducted, and fatally termi-"nated." Though his precipitation was ruinous to Scotland, yet his death was more deplored than that of any former Sovereign; ſo great are the charms of clemency, condeſcenſion, and liberality in a Prince. Their ſorrow too was augmented, becauſe there was no houſe of the leaſt eminence but what mourned a huſband or a ſon. He was much devoted to the religion of his anceſtors, and to the Papal Court. His pilgrimages to St. Ninian in Galloway, and the ſhrine of St. Duthac in the county of Roſs, have been aſcribed as much to the love of "fair maids," as the relicts of "holy ſaints;" but as his Queen accompanied him in one of his pious expeditions, we have no right to place it to any other motive than miſtaken devotion; perhaps to aſſuage the divine wrath for the part he had taken in thoſe misfortunes that ended his father's days; for he had ever ſuch a deteſtation to that tranſaction, and horror in having

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headed the malecontents, that upon eſpecial occaſions, as a mark of humiliation, and as ſome atonement for it, he wore round his waiſt an iron chain, which each year had an additional link; but he never puniſhed any of thoſe who were concerned in the revolt; ſo that he was praiſed for his filial piety, and his mercy, being ſevere only with himſelf. It is noticed of him that he excelled in healing wounds, a practice common amongſt the chieftains of Scotland, who were ever at war with a foreign enemy, or ſome of the neighbouring clans. His temperance at table was exemplary, and it enabled him to combat with the greateſt hardſhips, and endure thoſe fatigues that others would have ſunk under; and he gloried in braving every danger, travelling often unattended through the moſt barbarous parts of his dominions. His exceſs in the pleaſures of love were directly oppoſite to this ſelf-denial; his amours after his marriage were unpardonable; he did not even abſtain from the daughters of his nobility: this was one of the blemiſhes in a character generally moſt eſtimable. But his eſpouſing the cauſe of Perkin Warbeck, and giving him a relation in marriage, with his extravagant declaration in favour of France, to forward her ſchemes againſt Italy, when ſhe could not defend her own territories, ſeem to juſtify what has been ſaid, that he had too much knight-errantry in his compoſition, and that "his character was "that of a fine gentleman, and brave knight, rather than a wiſe "or great Monarch." But it muſt be confeſſed that Scotland at no time, whilſt a ſeparate kingdom, was ſo reſpectable abroad, or ſo peaceful, rich and happy within herſelf: never were letters, arts and arms, united there but by him; nor did ever a Scotch fleet ride triumphant upon the ocean, but when commanded by his admirals. In fine, he made the Scotian diadem ſhine with a more reſplendent luſtre than it was thought capable of. At his death he was more than forty years of age, and had reigned more than twenty-five. He was of the middle ſize, ſtrong made, and of a majeſtic deportment. The Scots ſpeak of the beauty of his face, but his coins, which correſpond with the engraved portraits of him, do not impreſs me with that idea: his face is long and thin,

his hair ſtraight, coming as low as his ſhoulders, and ſo much are his features like thoſe of Henry VII. that he might have been ſuppoſed his ſon, inſtead of ſon-in-law. This has cauſed Mr. Pennant to obſerve, upon mentioning his portrait, ſtill preſerved in one of the apartments of the Duke of Hamilton, in the palace of Holy-rood, that as it ſo greatly reſembled Henry VII. he was tempted to think it the portrait of James V. who was deſcended from the daughter of Henry. But James V. has a very different countenance. Beſides, the father had no beard, the ſon firſt adopting it in the family. That accompliſhed writer, and moſt amiable perſon, deſcribes the portrait as giving the King "in "black, with ermine, the hair lank and ſhort." Mr. Granger gives four engraved portraits of him—"*Jacobus IV. Rex Scotorum*, "a thiſtle in his left hand. 4to. James the Fourth, ermine robe; "8vo, Jaques IV. a buſt; Vander Werft, p. G. Valek ſc. h. ſh. "James the Fourth, &c. Stentexc. 4to. which is one of the ſet "of the Kings of Scotland, in which are a ſhort ſketch of their "lives."

The day following the battle of Flodden the body of K. James was found extremely mangled; many of his wounds were mortal; the arrows had galled him much; his neck was opened to the middle, and his left hand in two places was nearly ſeparated from his arm; the corpſe was eaſily known, by ſome private marks, by Lord Dacre, Sir William Scot, Sir John Forman, and others, then priſoners to the Engliſh. It was conveyed by the conquerors to Berwick in a hearſe, and there embowelled, embalmed and cered, then incloſed in lead, and ſecretly, with other things, taken to Newcaſtle; his coat armour was preſented to Q. Catharine, who, Sept. 16, wrote to K. Henry a letter, dated from Woborne, in Bedfordſhire, in her way to "our lady at Walſingham," in which ſhe ſays, "My huſband, for haſtineſs of Rouge-Croſs I could not "ſend your grace the piece of King of Scot's coat; I thought to "ſend himſelf to you, but our Engliſhmen would not ſuffer. It "ſhould have been better for him to have been in peace, than to have

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" his reward. All that God ſendeth is for the beſt. My Lord of " Surry, my Henry, would fain know your pleaſure in burying of " the King of Scot's body, for he hath written to me ſo. With " your next meſſenger your grace's pleaſure may be known herein; " and with this I ſo make an end, praying God to ſend you home " ſhortly; for without this no joy here can be accompliſhed." Henry was then in France; he immediately applied to the court of Rome for leave to bury the royal corpſe, for as he died under a ſentence of excommunication, the funeral rites could not otherwiſe be performed: Leo X. returned in anſwer, that as he was credibly informed that he had ſhewn " ſome ſigns of repentance, for the " crime that had occaſioned his being excommunicated, in the laſt " agony of his death," he empowered Richard, Biſhop of London, or any other, to make the proper inquiries, and, if true, to comply with Henry's deſire, provided that monarch undertook " to per- " form ſome pennance in behalf of the deceaſed King of Scotland." From Newcaſtle the body was brought to London, and preſented to Q. Catharine, at Richmond, where ſhe then reſided; and the neceſſary formalities having been complied with, it was royally interred in the adjoining monaſtery of Sheen; but when that houſe was diſſolved it was taken up, and in the reign of K. Edward VI. thrown into a ſpare room with old timber, lead, and ſtone, where ſome of the workmen wantonly cut off the head, which was taken by a young glazier to Q. Elizabeth, who was ſtruck with its ſweetneſs, ariſing from the embalmed materials; the man kept it for ſome time at his houſe in Wood-ſtreet, London, but at laſt gave it to the ſexton of St. Ann's church, in that ſtreet, who buried it among the promiſcuous bones in the charnel houſe. Mr. Guthrie, who wonders that the Scots did not claim the body of their beloved and lamented ſovereign, thinks it was becauſe his dominions being alſo " under " the cenſure of holy church," could not have buried it; but the general conſternation and ferment, the expence and trouble, and the number of illuſtrious heroes who alſo had found untimely graves at Flodden, ſufficiently excuſes them; for otherwiſe they might

have kept the departed king until all impediments, had ceaſed, and then have buried him where, and how they had pleaſed.

For a device he uſed the repreſentation of two rugged rocks in the midſt of a tempeſtuous ſea, and for a motto, " Durabo;" and not long before his fatal expedition, he publiſhed an elegant medallion, which gives his buſt in profile, with a cloſed crown of one arch, adorned with the order of St. Michael, of which he was a knight companion, inſcribed " Jacobus 4 Dei Gratia rex Scotorum," upon the reverſe a Doric column elevated upon a rock in the midſt of a calm ſea, between two promontories, on its capital a lauriated head of James, with the word " Utrumque," alluſive to his ſtability and vigilance, in watching the two great contending intereſts in Europe, whilſt his own dominions were ſecure from both, by his own prudence and circumſpection; and it would have been a juſt emblem had he not taken any part in the diſputes that divided Europe, but as a mediator and umpire; at leaſt until he had ſeen how the fate of kingdoms had been decided, for each was ſo equal that a ſingle power might have turned the ſcale after the war had been ſome time continued.

Margaret, Queen of K. James IV.

It had always been intended that K. James IV. ſhould marry a Princeſs of England; it was firſt deſigned that he ſhould eſpouſe Cecily, ſecond daughter of K. Edward IV. to which, in 1474, the Court of England aſſented, though the parties were children, and Edward paid in Edinburgh yearly a ſum of money according to the articles of the treaty for the fortune of his daughter; but in 1479 James III. breaking off his friendſhip with the Court of London, one of the oſtenſible reaſons for Edward's ſending an army into Scotland was, to demand the repayment of the money that had been advanced, and all proſpect of the union of James and

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Cecily vaniſhed *. Richard III. had many reaſons to wiſh for the alliance of Scotland, he therefore, in 1484, concluded a treaty of marriage between this Prince and Ann de la Pole, the daughter of John, Duke of Suffolk, by Elizabeth, that Monarch's ſiſter. Every requiſite was ſettled, and ſhe was ſtiled Ducheſs of Rothſay; ſhe was at that time ſuppoſed the neareſt Princeſs to the crown of England, as her brother, the Earl of Lincoln, had been declared by Richard heir to his dominions; but upon the death of the King, her uncle, ſhe quitted the title of Rothſay, having loſt all hopes of becoming Queen of Scotland †. Amongſt the intermarriages propoſed in 1487, between the families of K. Henry VII. and K. James III. it was agreed that James, then Duke of Rothſay, ſhould marry one of the ſiſters of the Queen conſort, and daughter to the late K. Edward IV. but which of them was not mentioned; but the violent death of K. James III. prevented this marriage taking place, ſo that in the following year the Parliament enacted, "that "as the King was of age to marry with a noble Princeſs, born and "deſcended of a noble and worſhipful houſe," that an honourable embaſſy ſhould be ſent "to the realms of France, Brittany, Spain, "and other places, to be nominated; to adviſe, treat, and con-"clude a treaty of marriage;" and to make it the more ſplendid, the embaſſy ſhould conſiſt of a Biſhop, an Earl, or Lord of Parliament; a Secretary, (who then was generally a clergyman) and a Knight, and they were to be allowed fifty horſemen to attend them, and to receive for their expences 5,000l.; the clergy and barons were each to raiſe 2,000l. and the remaining 1,000l. was to be ſupplied by the burghs; the embaſſy had the power to renew the ancient league with France; and what appears the moſt extraordinary, a herald, termed "a truſty eſquire, was to go abroad to reconnoitre "the ſeveral courts of Europe for a fit match for the King," ſuch

* The Princeſs Cecily became the wife of Lord Wellers, created by K. Henry VI. a Viſcount, and afterwards to one Kyme, a private perſon, reſiding in the county of Lincoln.

† Ann de la Pole, after the battle of Boſworth, became a nun at Shene.

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was the ſimplicity of that age; but from various cauſes the matter lay dormant until 1491, when the affair was renewed with the greateſt vigor, and Henry VII. was applied to, June 14, in that year, to grant a paſsport to Robert, and William, Biſhops of Glaſgow, and Aberdeen, the Earls of Bothwell, and Morton, the Prior of St. John's, the Lords Glamis, and Oliphant, with Richard Murhead, Dean of Glaſgow, and 100 attendants, to travel through his dominions, to Charles, King of France, and the King and Queen of Spain, and other countries, with the ſame inſtructions that the former ambaſſadors had received. James certainly looked at this time to a continental connexion, and the more ſo as his exiled ſubjects had propoſed to deliver him and his brothers into the hands of Henry VII. who embraced the propoſal, and promiſed on his part a bribe, equal to the treaſon; but finding they had not the power to execute what they had promiſed, and that James gave the greateſt indications of genius, Henry not only embraced terms of amity, but in 1493, to bind this monarch ſtill cloſer to him, propoſed a marriage between him and "the moſt ſerene Princeſs Catharine, "his couſin, daughter of Eleanor, Counteſs of Ormond and Wiltſhire, daughter of Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerſet, his great uncle*; but James and his council treated the propoſition with contempt, as a marriage beneath his dignity, and probably it was made becauſe ſhe was the only lady of the blood royal of the Lancaſtrian

* Eleanor, Counteſs of Ormond and Wiltſhire, was daughter of Edmund, ſecond Duke of Somerſet, and eldeſt ſiſter of Henry and Edmund, third and fourth Dukes of that title, and became a co-heireſs of the latter. She was the ſecond wife of James Boteler, Earl of Ormond and Wiltſhire, who leaving her a widow without children, ſhe re-married to Sir Robert Spencer, of Spencercomb, in Devon, Knt. Captain of Homet and Tomelin in Normandy, and by him ſhe had two children, Catherine, mentioned above, and Margaret; Catherine afterwards married to Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and became progenitreſs of the ſubſequent noblemen of that title; her ſiſter married to Thomas Cary, of Chilton Foliot, Eſq. from whoſe two ſons, John and William, deſcended the Viſcount Falkland, and the Barons Hunſdon, Earls of Dover and Monmouth; and the Earls of Berkley. Margaret, K. Henry VII.'s mother, was the only child of John, the firſt Duke of Somerſet, eldeſt brother of Edmund, the ſecond Duke; ſo that Catherine and K. Henry were firſt couſins.

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branch, who was of a ſuitable age. Though the Scots agreed to the truce, yet the next day their Parliament renewed the ſubject of the King's marriage with a Princeſs of France, or elſewhere, adding 10001. to the 60001. already granted, and voted another 10001. "for the honorable home-bringing of the Queen," yet nothing appears to have been done; in the following year K. Henry plainly evinced how much he wiſhed to unite James to his family, by making him his ſon-in-law, though his daughters were ſo young and ſeemed for that reaſon improper, as his ſubjects looked eagerly for an heir to reſt their hopes upon; and in 1495 his commiſſioners, appointed to conclude a treaty of peace, propoſed an alliance with the Princeſs Royal of England, the moſt illuſtrious lady Europe had to offer; but the childhood of Margaret prevented James from making any haſte; and Henry ſeeing his coldneſs, alſo remained quieſcent; this gave ſome ſpur to the Scotch monarch in 1495, eſpecially as the Engliſh council had ſhewn a repugnance to the alliance, fearing, that in failure of the male branch, James, or his ſucceſſors, ſhould be called to ſit upon the throne of England; Henry could not, however, then ſuppoſe that his youngeſt daughter ever ſhould marry Louis XII. King of France, then much in years, and who at that time had a wife; ſome diſputes having ariſen upon the borders, James, ſore with the obſtructions he had met with in the Engliſh council, in a paſſion ſwore that "nothing in "the courſe of nature was more certain than that there could be no "peace between the people of England and of Scotland;" but a ſuitable apology from Henry, and the ſkilful negociation of the Biſhop of Durham, procured in 1500 a truce, and a treaty of alliance between James and Margaret, though ſhe was only ten years and a half old; but as they were within the fourth degree of conſanguinity, a diſpenſation was applied for and procured, and the terms of peace having been ſettled by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, the Biſhop of Wincheſter, and the Earl of Surry, with the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, Earl of Bothwell, Great Admiral of Scotland, and Warden of the Weſt Marches, and the Biſhop of St. Andrew's; agreeable to their plenipotentiary powers, dated Octo-

ber 8, 1501; and in January, 1501—2, the long-wiſhed event, the alliance between the houſes of England and Scotland, was effected, and the terms agreed upon at Richmond, which were, "Firſt, "That James, King of Scotland, ſhall at Candlemas next, in "perſon, or by his proxy, marry the Princeſs Margaret, who, on "the laſt day of November by-paſſed, had attained to the full age "of twelve years, and that no exceptions ſhall be made againſt "their conſanguinity or affinity, both having been beforehand diſ-"penſed with by the ſovereign Pontiff. Secondly, That the ſaid "Princeſs ſhall be convoyed at the charges of the ſaid King, her "father, and delivered to her ſaid huſband, or any impowered by "him to receive her, at Lamberton-kirk, about the beginning of "September, 1503, and not till then. Thirdly, That before the "firſt day of July, 1503, the ſaid Princeſs ſhall be legally infeft "and ſeized in all lands, caſtles, &c. which the Queen dowagers "of Scotland uſually enjoy; and if all theſe lands be not found to "yield the yearly revenue of 2000l. Engliſh, or which was the "ſame, 6000l. Scots money, that her ſaid huſband ſhall aſſign her "as many other lands as will make up the deficiency. Fourthly, "That the ſaid Princeſs ſhall be allowed to have always by her at "leaſt twenty-four ſervants of the Engliſh nation, men or women, "as ſhe ſhall incline, over and above her Scottiſh domeſtics, and "that all theſe ſhall be entertained at the charges of the King, her "huſband, who ſhall give her every year the ſum of 1000l. Scots, "or 500 merks ſterling, by equal proportions, at the feaſts of "Eaſter and Michaelmas, to be diſpoſed of at her pleaſure. "Fifthly, That in caſe of the death of the ſaid King, her huſ-"band, ſhe ſhall be allowed to reſide within or without the king-"dom, yet her whole jointure, amounting to the aforeſaid ſum of "2000l. ſterling, or 6000l. Scots, ſhall be faithfully paid. Sixthly, "That the King, her father, ſhall pay for her portion, to the ſaid "King James, her huſband, 30,000 pieces of gold, called angel-"nobles, or the equivalent in the current coin of England; "whereof 10,000l. paid at Edinburgh eight days after the conſum-"mation of the marriage, other 10,000 on the ſame day of the

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" enſuing year, 1504, at Coldingham, and the laſt 10,000 towards " the end of the next year, 1505. Seventhly, That in caſe the ſaid " Princeſs ſhall chance to die without iſſue, before the complete pay- " ment of her portion, the remainder unpaid ſhall be no more due; " but if ſhe ſhall chance to leave iſſue behind, then the whole ſhall " be faithfully paid, as if ſhe was alive." That this alliance between the two crowns might be a bleſſing to both nations, by another treaty it was agreed that there ſhould " in all times to come be " a ſincere, complete, and inviolable peace, friendſhip, and league " between the moſt illuſtrious and excellent Princes James, King " of Scotland, and Henry, King of England, their heirs and law- " ful hereditary ſucceſſors, their kingdoms and ſubjects, whether " eccleſiaſtic or laic," and this under the penalty of excommunication to ſuch who broke the peace entered into. In 1502, Henry ſent James a liſt of ſuch whom he choſe to attend upon his daughter with the appointments they were to receive; James acquieſced, but told the avaricious King that he had no right to fix the ſums his wife's domeſtics were to be paid for their attendance; in 1503 Henry ſent Lord Dacre, Robert Sherborn, Dean of St. Paul's, John Carryngton, and Richard Erynton, Eſq. to take infeoffment of the lands ſettled in jointure, which James aſſigned, and which were to conſiſt of the foreſt of Etic, and manor or fortreſs of Newark; the county of March, the lordſhips of Dunbar and Cowbranſpeth, the lordſhip and palace of Linlithgow, the lordſhip and caſtle of Stirling, the earldom of Monteith, the lordſhip and caſtle of Down, and the palace and lordſhip of Methven; Mr. Guthrie, from whom much of this information is drawn, ſays, the record does not inform us of the preciſe parcels of thoſe lands which belonged in dowry to the former Queens of Scotland, and thoſe which were added to make up the jointure 2000l. ſterling a year; but he thinks none were, as the rental of land was at that time increaſed in the kingdom. As nothing can give the reader ſo good an idea of the ſtate of Britain at that period, and eſpecially of Scotland, I ſhall continue to be as particular as I can reſpecting the nuptials, flattering myſelf that it will be both amuſing and inſtructing. Mar-

garet was affianced when only fourteen years of age, being born Nov. 29, 1492; the bans were publiſhed at St. Paul's Croſs January 25, 1504, when hymns were ſung in the churches of London, attended with great feaſtings, bonfires, and other amuſements; Pope Julius II. was ſo pleaſed with the marriage, that he ſent James a ſuperb ſword of ſtate and diadem, conſecrated upon Chriſtmas day. June the 16, the Princeſs having received many rich jewels and other valuables, left the palace of Richmond, in Surrey, accompanied by her father, and all the chief nobility and gentry of England, attended by more than two thouſand followers, and the moſt ſplendid equipages then in uſe*. Henry conveyed her to Cole-weſton, in the county of Northampton, where his mother, the Counteſs Dowager of Richmond, reſided, and after ſpending ſome days in the utmoſt mirth and feſtivity, having given her his bleſſing, and what advice he judged neceſſary, committed her to the care of the Earls of Surrey and Northumberland, and who conducted her, with the great train of noblemen, knights, ladies, and gentry, to Berwic, in the exact order they had preſcribed them, until they came to the borders of Scotland, where many of them were permitted to bid her adieu; but thoſe that continued were ſufficient to make a royal appearance. At Lamberton church, in Lamyrmoor, ſhe was met by K. James, with a ſuperb ſuit of his nobility and officers of ſtate, by whom ſhe was conducted to Dalkeith, and next day to Edinburgh, where the marriage was celebrated with incredible ſplendor. In honor of the nuptials, balls, tilts, and tournaments were proclaimed; theſe engaged the illuſ-

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* Mr. Guthrie ſays, "I have ſeen the originals of the papers tranſcribed from "Henry's own hand-writing by the heralds who were to ſuperintend the proceſſion: "they contained the number and quality of the bride's attendants of both ſexes, "who were to wait upon her at the ſeveral places where ſhe ſtopped or lodged, the "manner of their relieving each other, and the ſeveral duties they were to perform "about her perſon." It muſt have been extremely curious, and deſerved a place in an appendix. Young, Somerſet herald, wrote of the FRANCELLS of the Princeſs Royal of England, together with "her departure from England, journey into Scot-"land, her reception and marriage there, and the great feaſts held on that account."

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trious foreigners, as well as the Britiſh nobles, in the day; and the evenings were ſpent in the more ſoft pleaſures of dancing and maſks: never was ſuch a ſplendid aſſembly at any time before or ſince ſeen in Scotland, drawn thither by the far-extended fame of the royal bridegroom, who bore off the prize in moſt of the feats of ſtrength, activity, and addreſs; it ſeemed, however, extraordinary, that the elegant James ſhould put himſelf at the head of what he juſtly called "the ſavage company," who, armed with targets and heavy ſwords, fought to the muſic of their bagpipes; their dreſs and behavior was novel; but it muſt have been a horrid ſight to view theſe really-ſavage highlanders, not ſtriving barely to overcome, but either to effectually maim or kill their adverſaries: their loſs, as the King obſerved, was no injury done to ſociety; but a great and puiſſant monarch ſhould have thought them deſerving of reformation, and making them worthy of the community, but on no account ſhould have diſgraced his court and hurt the feelings of ladies by cuſtoms contrary to religion, humanity, and decorum; if he had ſuch rude ſubjects he ſhould have kept them in the back ground, confined in his region of Boreas, in the receſſes of his moſt northern mountains. Amongſt the many illuſtrious ſtrangers there, the moſt diſtinguiſhed was M. D'Arcie, who ſtiled himſelf Le Sieur de la Beautie, famous throughout Chriſtendom for his gallantry and valor; but when he tilted with Lord Hamilton, couſin-german to the King, they were ſo equally matched, that neither could boaſt of any ſuperiority. The politeneſs of James even more diſtinguiſhed him than his chivalry, ſo noble was the entertainment, and ſo elegant the attendance paid to every illuſtrious gueſt. It is ſcarce poſſible to believe what all hiſtorians and writers are agreed in, that in general the Scotch nobles, ladies, and gentry, far outſhone the Engliſh in theſe feſtivities, "in coſtly apparel, "rich jewels, maſſy chains, habiliments ſet with gold, and in "gallant and well-trapped horſes*;" but courtiers follow the ex-

* It muſt be acknowledged that the Earl of Northumberland exceeded every other in magnificence at the royal marriage, "in the richneſs of his coat, being gold-

ample of the Prince whom they ſerve. James was young, gallant, and magnificent, fond of pomp and ſhew; Henry, old, retired, frugal to that extreme, that he became a miſer, and ſo averſe to the expenſive manner in which his nobles had lived, that he puniſhed one of them for an exceſs, when it was done to ſhew his dutiful loyalty, whilſt honored by a viſit; beſides too great a ſplendor on their parts would only, by their riches, have tempted his avarice; nor could the Engliſh have overcome the dreadful havoc in their fortunes, occaſioned by the civil wars of York and Lancaſter, which had continued for ſo long a time; however, making all the allowance poſſible, it gives us very great ideas of James, and evinces what an extenſive commerce he muſt have eſtabliſhed, to impower him and his ſubjects to not only rival, but exceed, the Engliſh in the brilliance of their eſtabliſhments, eſpecially when "even the moſt ſober luxuries were then unknown in the courts "of Denmark and Sweden, and the other northern parts of Eu-"rope." That the reader may alſo form a juſt opinion of the poetic genius of the Scots, called forth upon occaſion of theſe rejoicings, I ſubjoin a note of Guthrie's, deſcribing the poem of Dunbar, written in honor of the Queen, incomparably the fineſt and moſt pictureſque of any in the Engliſh language preceding it; the poem is written in the form of an allegory, the month of May appears in her proper attributes to the author, and commands him to attend her, and to celebrate her Roſe. He follows her, being then day-break.

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"And as the bliſsful ſun drave up the ſky,
"All nature ſang throu comfort of the light;
"The minſtrels, wing'd with open voyces, cry,
"O lovers, now is fled the dully nicht,
"Come welcome day, that comforts every wicht.

"ſmith's work, garniſhed with pearl and ſtones; and for the coſtly apparel of his "henxmen, and gallant trappers of their horſes, beſides 400 tall men, well horſed, "and apparelled in his coolers; he was eſteemed, both of the Scots and Engliſhmen, "more like a Prince than a ſubject."

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" Hail May, hail Flora, hail Aurora ſhene,
" Hail Princeſs Nature, hail luve's handſome quene."

" Though theſe are far from being the beſt lines in the poem, yet " I have quoted them to give the reader ſome idea of the author's " deſcriptive powers, and how well he had ſtudied Lucretius, a " claſſic who in thoſe days was very uncommon. But to proceed " in the allegory. Queen Nature ſummons the animal creation, " and all the flowery productions of May to attend her and to do " her homage, ſhe employs the ſwift-footed roe to be her meſſen- " ger to the beaſts; the reſtleſs ſwallow to the birds; and the yar- " row to the flowers. The reader, we doubt not, will be pleaſed " to ſee a deſcription of James's perſon under that of a lion, which " was his armorial bearing."

" All brocht in were, in twynkling of an ee,
" Baith beiſt, and bird, and flowir before the Quene,
" And firſt the lyon, greateſt of degre,
" Was ſummon'd ther, and he fair to be ſene,
" With a full hard countenance and kene,
" Before dam Nature came, and did inclyne,
" With viſage bauld, and courage leonyne.
" This awful beiſt was terrible of cheir,
" Perfing of luke, and ſtout of countenance;
" Right ſtrong of corps, of faſſon fair, bot (without) feir;
" Luſty of ſhape, licht of deliverance;
" Reid of his colour, as the ruby glance;
" In feild of gold he ſtude full rampantly,
" With flowr de-Lyces circlet pleaſantly."

James expreſſed himſelf ſo contented with his bride, that immediately after the nuptial feſtivities were paſſed, he not only confirmed her jointure in Parliament, but in addition, infeoft, by Sir Hugh Campbel, of London, Sheriff of Air, the Lordſhip of Kilmarnoc, and he ſeemed only to ſeek the pleaſure of the Queen, giving the remainder of that year to diverſions of various kinds, at Falkland and his other palaces. Young as Margaret was, ſhe ſhewed great prudence whilſt ſhe ſhared the throne with James; and when

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he determined to break with England, ſhe joined with all his wiſeſt and moſt aged counſellors to diſſuade him from his raſh deſign; ſhe even played upon that ſuperſtition by which he was ſometimes ſwayed; ſhe procured a venerable old man to ſpeak prophetically of what the event would be when he was at public prayers; and to give it more the air of a preternatural thing, the ſuppoſed prophet, by puſhing through the multitude, did, as it were, vaniſh inſtantly, and could not be diſcovered; but ſeeing all her arts fail, ſhe ſet forth the folly of complying with the ſelfiſh deſires of Ann, the French Queen, which endangered his crown and life, conjuring him to reflect in what ſituation, if he fell, ſhe, his ſon, and his dominions muſt be left; urging too her condition, then peculiarly unable to bear ſo great a ſtroke; concluding, that "if you will "go, take me with you, for the Engliſh will ſhew more kindneſs "to me than to you; and perhaps in the abſence of K. Henry I "may meet the Queen, my ſiſter-in-law, who may be with the "army, and if we meet, who knows what God, by our means, "may bring to paſs:" but unheedful of her good ſenſe, tenderneſs, tears, and intreaties, he abruptly left her, to return no more. Margaret claimed the regency of the kingdom, and guardianſhip of the infant ſovereign, from the will of the late King, which was aſſented to: ſhe then ſupplicated the merciful compaſſion of Henry, her brother, for herſelf, her ſon, and his ſubjects; to which he replied, "if the Scots wiſhed war he was able to withſtand them; if "peace was their object, he would cultivate it." Had Henry invaded the kingdom during their conſternation, and when deprived of ſo many of her braveſt and moſt experienced generals and counſellors, devaſtation and ruin muſt have enſued; but liſtening to the perſuaſions of a beloved ſiſter, he deſiſted from that vengeance which the occaſion and his haughty temper might have brought upon them, ſo that the Queen was a bleſſing to Scotland. Margaret was only twenty-ſeven years of age when ſhe became a widow, and felt in its full force all that energy of love which the children of K. Henry VII. were ſo remarked for; a paſſion probably derived from the "white," not the red "roſe;" no ſooner therefore was

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ſhe recovered from her lying-in, than ſhe gave her hand to Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, "who united the talents of the "gentleman, the ſtateſman, and the ſoldier;" he was about the ſame age with herſelf, was rich and powerful, and paſſionately fond of the widowed Queen. Scotland could not have offered her a more proper marriage; but it was too precipitantly concluded, for neither the Engliſh monarch nor the Scotch Parliament were conſulted; they were united Auguſt 14, 1514, not quite eleven months after the King's death; delicacy demanded a longer ſpace, though James had not been, it muſt be confeſſed, a huſband that deſerved the greateſt affection. The deprivation of her power followed, the Parliament transferring the Regency to the expatriated Duke of Albany, who, with difficulty, could ſpeak the language of the people he was called upon to govern; ſhe bent to a ſtorm ſhe could not oppoſe, and ſhe received him with much civility; endeavouring ſoon after to withdraw into England with her two ſons, and place them under the protection of K. Henry, their uncle, ſhe was ſurpriſed in Sterling caſtle with them, and they were intruſted to the care of four Scotch and French Lords. Finding her ſchemes defeated, ſhe fled with her huſband and Sir George Douglas, his favourite brother, to Tentallon; then to Berwic; from whence ſhe obtained a convoy to the nunnery of Coldſtream: from this place ſhe ſent to the Engliſh Court, to know her brother's pleaſure. Henry behaved with affection, aſſigning her, Lord Angus, and Sir George, Harbottle caſtle for their reſidence, and put them under the protection of Lord Dacre: here ſhe was obliged to remain, until ſhe was delivered of the child, a daughter, ſhe was heavy with; Margaret, the infant, was born October 7, 1516; Henry, upon her recovery, invited her and the Douglas's to his capital, which ſhe accepted; but they, without leave, unhandſomely left the kingdom, and returned into Scotland, having made their peace with the Regent. She was royally conducted to London, and in May made her public entry into that city, in her way to Greenwich, where the Engliſh Court was; Baynard caſtle, in Surrey, was aſſigned her; there, in honor of her, the King, on

the 19th and 20th of that month, "prepaired and kept ſolemn "juſts, whereunto the King, the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of "Eſſex, and Nich. Carew, Eſq. anſwered all commers." She rendered herſelf very popular, by uniting with the Queen of England, and her ſiſter, the Queen-mother of France, to obtain a pardon for 400 apprentices, and other mean perſons, of London, for raiſing an inſurrection upon the firſt day of May in the following year, (thence called evil May day) which was occaſioned by the hatred and jealouſy they entertained againſt foreigners; but the inflexible monarch ſuffered theſe truly-royal ſiſters to be ſolicitors to him for a long time upon their knees, before he would permit mercy to triumph over juſtice. It is ſingular that the diſperſed family of K. Henry VII. ſhould, after ſo many years ſeparation, all meet together again; her ſiſter alſo had exchanged the embraces of a ſovereign for a ſubject: it is pleaſing to obſerve Henry VIII.'s behavior to them, though they ſeemed to have ſtooped beneath their birth by their ſecond marriages. Margaret, who had come into his dominions an exile, without any thing to diſtinguiſh her from a private gentlewoman, was treated by him as a Queen, and allowed every thing proper to that exalted rank; and both to his court, and back again to Scotland, ſhe was moſt honorably attended. The Regent having left Scotland, ſhe ſet out upon her return thither May 18, 1517, receiving from K. Henry every thing a daughter of England and a Queen of Scotland could want, as jewels, plate, tapeſtry, money, horſes, and every thing elſe that ſhe could deſire, though by the preceding treaty her jewels and moveables were to be reſtored her within three months, upon her reſigning what ſhe had belonging to the King, her ſon; and the Regent undertook that he or his Lieutenant ſhould take care to pay her dowry regularly, and it was alſo ſtipulated that ſhe might reſide in either Scotland or England, as ſhe ſhould chuſe, and that ſhe ſhould viſit the young King whenſoever ſhe pleaſed, and without any paſſport. She was received by the Earl of Angus at Berwic, June 13, when they proceeded together into Scotland; but a coldneſs was viſible in her behavior, owing to the knowledge ſhe had of his

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indulging a criminal paſſion for a lady he had concealed in Douglas Dale, at a time too when ſhe had become an exile from her ſon's dominions for her attachment to him; this was greatly grating to pride and love, affection therefore turned to ſcorn and hatred; nor did he much court a reconciliation—a Douglas was too haughty to ſubmit. At this time ſhe muſt have ſuffered extremely in her mind, having loſt her poſthumous ſon, left an infant daughter in England, and precluded from viſiting the King, her eldeſt child; the cauſe aſſigned for this cruel infraction of the treaty was, leſt ſhe ſhould obtain his perſon, and convey him into England. The Earl of Angus, unable to reſt content, ſeized upon the government in the abſence of the Duke of Albany, the Regent, in 1520, the Scots flocking to his ſtandard; but upon the return of that Prince, in the following year, he was ſo enraged at his conduct, that he baniſhed him. Angus retired into France, but was invited into England, much againſt the conſent of Margaret, for at this early period ſhe ſeemed determined to be ſeparated from him by a divorce; and partly to mortify him, and becauſe ſhe would ſupport ſome degree of government amidſt the confuſion that diſgraced the kingdom, ſhe joined the Regent, and even honored him ſo far as to accompany him in his triumphal entry into Edinburgh; this ſo exaſperated the King of England, that he not only threatened the Scotch Parliament for ſupporting the Regent, but accuſed her of leaning to the French intereſt, ſo contrary to his; miſtaking from the erroneous intelligence ſent him, that the Duke favored the divorce, (which he could never agree to, as reflecting upon her honor) he thought that he might marry her, and ſet the crown upon his own head; but as the Parliament was convinced that the Regent was unfeignedly attached to the perſon of his royal ward, they vindicated him from the aſperſion, as a thing improbable "in one whoſe virtues and noble conduct in life had been always "anſwerable to his high rank and lineage, eſpecially as he muſt, "to do it, abandon his own wife, who was ſtill living, and had "brought him a great fortune;" concluding, "that in good truth "we firmly believe, "that neither the Queen's grace, nor he,

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"ever entertained any ſuch notion." Margaret's affection was then engaged to the young gentleman ſhe afterwards married, and ſhe moſt ſpiritedly reſented Henry's accuſing her of ſupporting the French inſtead of the Engliſh intereſt, declaring, that had he properly aided her endeavors, ſhe would have cauſed Albany to retire: her conduct was moſt meritorious, and a bleſſing to both nations, in preventing bloodſhed between them, acting as a mediatrix, equally preſerving the honor of the Regent and Henry, and this though war was declared twice by the former; the armies of each marched to the frontiers, but the Engliſh would not enter Scotland, nor could the Scots be prevailed upon to act otherwiſe than upon the defenſive, by any perſuaſions the Regent could uſe; and as he ſaw no diverſion would be made to favor the court of France, to which he was ſo much devoted, he reſigned his troubleſome poſt in 1523; and by the money Wolſey ſent from England, ſhe won over many of the nobility, ſo that a truce was obtained at "the "ſpecial purſuit and requeſt of that excellent Princeſs, Queen "Margaret," with the Engliſh, and order began to be again eſtabliſhed. Seeing herſelf at the head of affairs, ſhe ſtrove to keep free from the controul of both England and France, evincing by it the affection of a mother for the King, and a true friend to the intereſts of his ſubjects; but ſhe was not permitted to remain long thus happy: againſt her moſt earneſt and preſſing remonſtrances the haughty Cardinal demanded the return of an huſband odious to her, but he was recommended to aſk a reconciliation in the moſt humble manner. The partiality of the Engliſh miniſter was to effectually prevent the return of the Regent, and to keep the French from influencing the Scottiſh nation; but incapable of moderation, he won over the diſcontented Lenox, Argyle, Hume, and the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's; and with his uncle and his brother, having uſurped the government, acted rather as conquerors than ſubjects; for though it had been agreed that four ſpiritual and four temporal peers ſhould have the cuſtody of the minor king, and his dominions, each for one month alternately, and that nothing ſhould be done without her approbation and conſent, yet no manner of

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regard was paid to theſe regulations, which were not indeed dictated by wiſdom or prudence; perhaps at no time in that century was Scotland in greater diſorder than during the triumvirate of the Douglaſes; the King, though of an age to guide himſelf, was an abſolute priſoner, indulged with every criminal exceſs, but not ſuffered to leave the confinement they kept him in a moment, and all who dared to oppoſe them were proſcribed; aſſaſſinations diſgraced every part of the kindom, and they openly indulged their revenge, by publicly murdering thoſe who murmured againſt them. Margaret, ſtripped of all power, and unable to viſit the impriſoned King without meeting the deteſted Angus, retired to her palace of Falkland; but in 1526, the ſcheme ſhe had to liberate K. James, her ſon, failing, ſhe ſought and found protection with the Earl of Murray, in Murray-land; but here her mind, unbroken by the peculiarity of her ſituation, obtained the divorce againſt the Earl of Angus, he having been cited by the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, who pronounced her freed from him, under pretence of a pre-contract he had made with the daughter of Lord Traquir, and by whom he had a daughter, (a ſalvo at that period for terminating diſagreeable marriages) but there was a reſtriction, "that the child "come of the Queen and the Earl, during the time of this mar-"riage, by the ignorance of the mother, the Queen, ſhould not "ſuffer any loſs, damage, or diſadvantage." The Earl made little or no oppoſition, and immediately after ſhe gave her hand to Henry Stuart, a younger ſon of Lord Evandale; it was in vain that K. Henry, her brother, urged her to the contrary; trying to diſſuade her, by ſaying in his letter to her, that "there were ſome "things quite ſhameful for women to do, that were pardonable in "men;" but love and courage lent her reſolution: ſhe was a true "Tudor;" but even this gentleman was near being ſnatched from her, for in that unſucceſsful attempt of the King to eſcape from the Douglaſes, in which the Earl of Lenox fell, he and his brother were ſeized, and they would undoubtedly have been put to death, if the King had not, by the advice of their friends, kept them priſoners under his own eyes, and ſhe for ſome time lay con-

cealed in a mean diſguiſe, until finding that no inquiries were made about her, ſhe went to her reſidence in Falkland. After numerous ſtratagems, James, in the habit of a yeoman of the ſtable, eſcaped to Falkland, to the Queen, who had been treated with ſuch contempt and inſignificance, that her reſidence was the only place in the kingdom unfortified; this reſtored her ſon to the crown, and herſelf to that power and happineſs ſhe had long loſt: ſhe regained too her favored Henry, and what perhaps was equally pleaſing, ſaw her former huſband and his relations proſcribed; the King ſolemnly ſwearing that Scotland ſhould never hold him and them, and that he never would recal them from baniſhment; a ſentence the leaſt their crimes demanded, for Sir George Douglas had menaced the King in theſe words: "Sir, rather than our enemies ſhould take "you from us, we will lay hold of your perſon, and ſhould you "be torn in pieces in the ſtruggle, we will carry off part of your "body;" as they declared they never would make any ſubmiſſion, ſhe was likely to be freed from them for ever, and they never did return into Scotland, except aiding the Engliſh, all the reign of K. James V. but Henry VIII. treated Lord Angus, and his uncle and brother, with a generoſity that did him honor; and in return they joined his arms in all his attacks upon Scotland, much to their diſcredit. After the death of K. James V. he was recalled and reſtored to his titles and eſtates; he endeavored to effect a union between the two kingdoms, by the marriage of Prince Edward with Queen Mary; but when he found the Scots averſe to it, though he had invited the Engliſh to invade the kingdom, to accompliſh it, yet he came into the field to repel them; and when accuſed of ingratitude by Henry, he replied, "Is our brother-in-law offended "that I am a good Scotſman, and becauſe I have revenged the "defacing the tomb of my anceſtors at Melroſs, upon Ralp Iwers; "they were better men than he, and I ought to have done no "leſs; and will he take my life for that? Little knows K. Henry "the ſkirts of Kirnetable, where I can keep myſelf from all his "Engliſh hoſt;" and probably finding that England could no longer afford him an aſylum, he took the command of the van of

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the Scotch army in the battle of Pinkie or Muſſelburgh, fought in 1547, where his courage was conſpicuous, but where he loſt that friend of his fortune, Sir George, his brother; and he was obliged to yield to the ſuperiority of the Engliſh, commanded by the Duke of Somerſet, the maternal uncle, and guardian of K. Edward VI.; he behaved afterwards with dutiful ſubmiſſion to the Queen dowager of K. James V. Regent for her daughter, Queen Mary, but lived the laſt years of his life in retirement in his caſtle of Tantallon, where he died in 1556; K. Henry II. of France had honored him with the order of St. Michael: he was poſſeſſed of very conſiderable abilities, but they were loſt in his ambition and ferocity to accompliſh and retain what he could ſeize: his want of delicate tenderneſs was what probably occaſioned the Queen's diſlike to him, or at leaſt her not overlooking his want of conſtancy; ſo that if he was capable of captivating, he was unable to retain the affections of Margaret, the eldeſt daughter of England, and widow of Scotland; after the divorce from her, he married Margaret, daughter of John, Lord Maxwell, by whom he had a ſon, named James, but he dying in his father's life-time, he ſurrendered up his honors and manors, that a freſh grant of them might be given, after his death, to David, the ſon of his favorite brother, Sir George. Earl Archibald's body lies buried in the collegiate church of Abernethy, in Perthſhire, the burial place of ſome of his progenitors, and where his monument ſtill remains. Her Majeſty ſurrendering up Methven to her third huſband, he was created Baron of that place, the crown granting it to him in fee, conditionally that Margaret gave up Sterling caſtle. James V. alſo made him maſter of his ordnance, and he received between the years 1530 and 1546 grants of the lands of Gallowayſhiels, Streſelee, Girgleſtone, Nether-Gorthy, &c. as he was a perſon of conſiderable abilities, graceful in his perſon, and polite in his behavior, Margaret ſeemed happy in her ſelection of him; her ſon alſo ever treated her with due tenderneſs and affection *; but ſhe felt greatly for the impriſonment

* James V. I believe, punctually paid his mother's jointure, which had before been ſeldom attended to, for in 1521 it was ſtipulated to be in future faithfully diſcharged, as it was alſo in 1526.

of her other child, the Princeſs Margaret, whom Henry VIII. ſent to the Tower, for daring to think of marrying without his concurrence; this was a moſt ſenſible grief to the Queen dowager, her mother, who paſſed the laſt days of her life, ſometimes in Scotland, and ſometimes with her in England, where, had it not been for this ſeverity towards her daughter, ſhe meant to have finiſhed her life; falling ill at Methven, ſhe died in a few days, in the year 1542, and was royally interred near the remains of K. James I. in Perth, the King, her ſon, with his nobility and gentry attending her funeral. It is ſingular that two of her three huſbands ſurvived her, one of whom was married again; and Lord Methven, the other, ſoon after united himſelf to Lady Janet Stewart, daughter of John, third Earl of Athol, ſprung from a widowed Queen, who alſo had re-married a gentleman of the Stewart family; by Lady Janet Lord Methven had Henry, ſecond Lord Methven, father of Henry, the third nobleman of that title, in whom it became extinct, and three daughters, Janet, married to Colin, ſixth Earl of Argyle; Dorothea, to William, firſt Earl of Gowrie; and Margaret, to Andrew, heir apparent to Lord Ochiltree, and afterwards to Utchtred Macdoual, of Garthland. Lord Methven, their father, fell, in 1547, at the battle of Pinkie, or Muſſelburgh, though he had agreed to the marriage of Mary, his ſovereign, with K. Edward VI. Queen Margaret was undoubtedly greatly to be pitied, K. James IV. her firſt huſband often deſerted her embraces, and ſeemed by the war, that proved fatal to him, to have abandoned her; and the Earl of Angus, whom ſhe ſelected in preference to all others, wronged her in every poſſible way; and ſhe was often debarred the privilege of the meaneſt, in having not only the laſt huſband withheld for ſome time from her, but frequently denied the conſolation of a mother, in having the company of her children, though her maternal tenderneſs has never been queſtioned; nor was ſhe leſs unhappy in her public ſituation of governeſs of her ſon's dominions; for ſhe was once driven from the kingdom, at other times diſgraced and rendered a cypher; and as ſhe was by no means deficient either in love to his ſubjects or abilities, we may

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cloſe the relation, by averring, that ſhe deſerved a far better fate. In the china cloſet at Windſor is an original picture of her when a child, with her two brothers, Arthur and Henry, painted, about the year 1496, by J. Maubeugius, which is moſt capitally engraved in a large ſheet by Vertue; there is another engraved portrait of her, inſcribed, Marguerite A. Vander Werff. P. G. Valck, ſc. Four French verſes; h. ſh. The children of Q. Margaret, by K. James IV. are given in a future page. By Archibald, Earl of Angus, ſhe had a daughter, named Margaret, born at Harbottle caſtle, in the county of Northumberland, in 1516, and moſt carefully brought up by her uncle, K. Henry VIII. in his court, who gave her in marriage to Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lenox, whoſe grandfather eſpouſed the Princeſs Mary, daughter of K. James II. This lady was of exquiſite beauty, extremely beloved by K. Henry; but it was the misfortune of this pair that they deſcended from Princeſſes who had married ſubjects, and were not diſtantly related to the crowns of England and Scotland; all the poſterity of the daughters of K. Edward IV. and K. Henry VII. who remained in the kingdom, were perſecuted from jealouſy, and moſt of them died upon the ſcaffold. She was the object of Q. Elizabeth's fears, and he of thoſe of the Scottiſh nation: his father, in endeavouring to releaſe K. James V. from the Douglaſes, his perſonal enemies, met his death, not in the carnage of the field, but was baſely murdered after the battle, moſt ſincerely lamented by his grateful ſovereign; this, his ſon, was obliged to leave Scotland, and was received with kindneſs by the court of Paris, until the Scotch faction prejudiced the French monarch ſo much againſt him, that he was obliged to fly to that of London for protection; he offered Henry the iſle of Bute, and the caſtles of Dunbritton and Rothſay, but he was incapable of fulfilling this engagement; however, the King ſettled 170 mercs yearly upon him, treated him with regard, and married him to his niece, the beautiful and amiable Margaret*, with whom he reſided in England, until Mary,

* This ſolitary exile lived to triumph in his turn over his rivals, the Hamiltons, by ſeeing his own ſon ſeated upon the Scottiſh throne, and to be Regent to his

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Margaret, Q. of K. James IV.

Queen of Scots, reſtored him to his country and honors, when ſhe had determined to marry his ſon, Lord Darnley. Elizabeth in vain recalled him: after the Earl of Murray's death he was proclaimed Regent during the minority of his grandſon, K. James VI.; but he neither knew the characters of the heads of the factions, nor had abilities ſufficient for that tumultuous office. After an adminiſtration of fourteen months, he was ſurprized by his enemies, and whilſt leading away under the guard of David Spence, to prevent any violence to his perſon, he was mortally wounded in the back by an hired ruffian, notwithſtanding all the endeavors of Spence to protect him; after languiſhing a few days, he died in Sept. 1571. He was an amiable, but not a great character. Margaret, his wife, the ornament of the Engliſh court, was the conſtant butt for fortune to ſhoot her moſt envenomed arrows at. She told Camden that ſhe was "thrice impriſoned in the Tower, not for any crime of "treaſon, but for love matters," the greateſt crime the Princes of the blood could fall into, becauſe it continued their pretenſions to the crown. Henry VIII. confined her for daring to love and be beloved by Thomas, Lord Howard, ſon of the Duke of Norfolk; but the young nobleman, convicted of ſecretly affiancing her, dying in the ſame priſon, ſet her at liberty in 1537; the ſecond time was on account of the marriage of her eldeſt ſon Henry with the Queen of Scots, from the information of the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors, that ſhe had acquainted the Scottiſh Queen that all Elizabeth's oppoſition to her Majeſty was mere grimace; but Queen Mary ordered her ambaſſador to expoſtulate about ſo ſevere a treatment of her "father's ſiſter:" the third time was, when her other ſon Charles married, which ſo diſpleaſed the enraged haughty Elizabeth, that ſhe ſhut up both the mothers of the young people. She was not only a lady of great goodneſs of heart, but of an excellent underſtanding; and it was chiefly by her dextrous management

infant grandſon, who afterwards ſucceeded to England, and held the ſceptre of both kingdoms, by one of which Lenox "had been caſt out a criminal, and by the other "received as a fugitive."

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that Q. Mary married her ſon *. She lived to bury all her children, and was never ſuffered to go into Scotland to her huſband, whoſe violent death, and that of her eldeſt ſon, K. Henry, muſt have been dreadfully ſevere ſhocks; Sir William Cecil acquaints the ambaſſador to France, Sir Henry Norris, that "the Queen's "Majeſty ſent yeſterday my Lady Howard, and my wife, to "the Lady Lenox to the Tower, to open this latter matter unto "her; who could not be by any means kept from ſuch paſſions of "mind as the horribleneſs of the fact did require." She died in London March 10, 1577—8. greatly beloved; even Elizabeth, from whom ſhe had ſuffered ſo much, did juſtice to her exalted merit, when ſhe was no longer dangerous, by burying her in the chapel of K. Henry VII. at her own expence, and in a moſt pompous manner †; an author gives us her character conciſely thus: "She was a matron of ſingular piety, patience, and modeſty." In both Dart's Hiſtory of Weſtminſter Abbey, and Sandford's Genealogical Hiſtory of England, are engravings of the ſuperb monument erected to her memory; part of the inſcription deſerves a place here. "She had to her great grandfather K. Edward IV.; "to her grandfather K. Henry VII.; to her uncle K. Henry VIII.; "to her couſin german K. Henry VI.; to her brother K. James V. "of Scotland; to her ſon K. Henry I.; to her grandchild K. "James VI. Having to her great grandmother and grandmother "two Queens, both named Elizabeth; to her mother Margaret, "Queen of Scots; to her aunt Mary, the French Queen; to her "couſin germans Mary and Elizabeth, Queens of England; to "her niece and daughter-in-law Mary, Queen of Scots." An

* Margaret, Counteſs of Lenox, ſent, with ample promiſes, many preſents to the principal perſons in Scotland, to bring them into her meaſures; to the Queen a fair diamond, as a token; and an emerald to her own huſband, Lord Lenox, then in that kingdom; a diamond to Lord Murray, Mary's illegitimate brother; a watch ſet with diamonds and rubies to the Secretary Lidington; and a ring, with a ruby, to Sir Robert Melvil; and probably preſents and letters to many more.

† It is not improbable but the averſion of Elizabeth to Lady Lenox might ariſe from her having, with the Ducheſs of Suffolk, had precedence in the reign of Q. Mary, who affected to treat her as illegitimate.

affinity ſo illuſtrious is ſcarce to be paralleled in hiſtory. The iſſue of this Princeſs was four ſons and four daughters, ſix of whom died in their infancy, and whoſe names are unknown, except Henry, one of them, buried in Stepney church, when he was only nine months old. Henry, the eldeſt ſurviving ſon, became King of Scotland, by the marriage of his relation, Queen Mary; and Charles, who had the title of Earl of Lenox, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Cavendiſh, anceſtor of the Dukes of Devonſhire; he died when only twenty-one years of age, and was buried in the ſame vault as his mother. His only child was Arabella; ſhe was called by Lord Henry Howard, in a letter he wrote to the Earl of Marr, Nov. 22, 1601, my Lord of Shrewſbury's idol, and ſpeaks of her as one he was extremely partial to, ſaying "of whoſe idol's ſublimation, or at the leaſt, of a purpoſe "to make her higher, by as many ſteps as aſcend to the ſcaffold, "if ſhe follows ſome men's counſels." By which it appears that there either were fears or pretended ones of this lady in ſetting herſelf up as a contender for the crown of England, which is ſome little excuſe for James's ſuſpicions. The King, in anſwer to this letter, miſtaking Lord Henry Howard's figurative one, that the Princeſs, and not Lord Shrewſbury, was ill, ſays, "I am from "my heart ſorry for this accident fallen to Arabella; but as na- "ture enforces me to love her as the creature living neareſt of kin "to me, next my own children, ſo would I for her own well that "ſuch order were taken, as ſhe might be preſerved from evil com- "pany, and that evil-inclined perſons might not have acceſs unto "her to ſupplant her abuſing of the frailty of her youth and ſex; "for if it be true, as I am credibly informed, that ſhe is lately "moved by the perſuaſion of Jeſuits to change her religion, and "declare herſelf Catholic, it may eaſily be judged that ſhe hath "been very evil attended on by them that ſhould have had greater "care of her, when perſons ſo odious, not only to all good Eng- "gliſhmen, but to all the reſt of the world, Spain only excepted, "ſhould have had acceſs to have conferred with her at ſuch lei- "ſure, as to have diſputed and moved her in matters of religion."

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PART VII.

Margaret, Queen of K. James IV.

" She was," ſays Mr. Lodge, in his valuable *Illuſtrations*, " a " very accompliſhed perſon, whoſe name is ſcarcely mentioned in " hiſtory, except with regard to Raleigh's ridiculous conſpiracy, " by which ſhe was to have been placed on a throne to which ſhe " had neither inclination nor pretenſions, and by means unknown " to herſelf." As this gentleman gives ſo good a relation of this unfortunate lady, I ſhall tranſcribe from him, and in his own words, as near as poſſible. " She was born about the year 1578," probably earlier, ſome ſay three years ſooner, " and brought up " in privacy, under the care of her grandmother, the old Coun- " teſs of Lenox, who had for many years reſided in England. " Her double relation to royalty was equally obnoxious to the " jealouſy of Elizabeth, and the timidity of James, and they ſe- " cretly dreaded the ſuppoſed danger of her leaving a legitimate " offſpring. The former therefore prevented her from marrying " Eſme Stuart, her kinſman, and heir to the titles and eſtates of " her family, and afterwards impriſoned her for liſtening to ſome " overtures from the ſon of the Earl of Northumberland; the lat- " ter, by obliging her to reject many ſplendid offers of marriage, " unwarily encouraged the hopes of inferior pretenders," among whom, as we may fairly infer from ſome paſſages in his letters, given in Mr. Lodge's collection, was the fantaſtical William Fowler, Secretary to Anne of Denmark. " Thus circumſcribed, " ſhe renewed a childiſh connection with William Seymour, grand- " ſon to the Earl of Hertford, which was diſcovered in 1609, " when both parties were ſummoned to appear before the Privy " Council, and received a ſevere reprimand. This mode of pro- " ceeding produced the very conſequence which James meant to " avoid; for the lady, ſenſible that her reputation had been " wounded by this inquiry, was in a manner forced into a marriage, " which becoming publicly known in the courſe of the next Spring, " ſhe was committed to cloſe cuſtody in the houſe of Sir Thomas " Parry, at Lambeth, and Mr. Seymour to the Tower. In this " ſtate of ſeparation, however, they concerted means of eſcape, " which both effected on the ſame day, June 3, 1611, and Mr.

" Seymour got ſafely to Flanders; but the poor lady was taken in " Calais Road, diſguiſed in men's clothes, and impriſoned in the " Tower, where the ſenſe of theſe undeſerved oppreſſions opera- " ting too ſeverely on her high ſpirit, ſhe became a lunatic, and " languiſhed in that wretched ſtate, augmented by the horrors of " a priſon, till her death, on the 27th of September, 1615." She was buried in the ſame vault as Mary, Queen of Scots, in K. Henry's chapel, where, ſays Sandford, " I have ſeen her lead cof- " fin without any monumental inſcription." Her death was greatly lamented by the Engliſh, with whom ſhe had ever been a favorite; and as Sir Thomas Overbury had been poiſoned in the Tower ſome time before, the public voice was ſo loud, knowing how ill ſhe had been uſed, that James, to pacify it, was obliged to have the body opened, and the phyſicians certify that ſhe died a natural death, occaſioned by a chronic diſorder. She was very amiable, learned, accompliſhed, and beautiful, yet James ſeems to have thought her only uſeful in acting the part of chief mourner at the funerals of his female relations. Her letter to the Earl of Shrewſbury*, lately publiſhed by Mr. Lodge, does her the greateſt credit; for it " bears a ſufficient teſtimony of the good ſenſe, refined education, " elegance of manners, and lively diſpoſition of the writer." Facing the third volume of the Illuſtrations is a fine engraving, giving her, in a three-quarters length; the features, delicate, regular, and animated; the hair dreſſed much as it is now worn, except that behind and over the ſhoulders it flows in vaſt profuſion, and to an uncommon length: it is an intereſting portrait. Vertue del. Baſire ſc. 1791. The Earl of Orford has a good copy of a portrait of her in water-colors, from a painting at Welbeck: there is a

* The Earl of Shrewſbury, we may ſuppoſe, greatly intereſted himſelf in behalf of the Lady Arabella; for Lord Liſle writes to his Lordſhip, " I have yet done little " in the matter of my Lady Arabella; I fear the Queene's inclination, and the doubt " that it will be an entrance to put the whole matter down. My Lady ſhall com- " mand me and my beſt ſervices, and much the more, ſeeing that your Lo. doth " make yourſelf a party." This was in 1606, and then the Queen appears not her kind friend.

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print of her, which is very rare, inſcribed, " the picture of the " moſt noble and learned Lady Arabella Stuart, ſold by George Humble, J. W. ſc. ſmall 4to. Alſo a picture of her, taken in 1589, when between thirteen and fourteen years of age; that repreſents her as very beautiful; " a complexion as fair as alabaſter, " ſweet large grey eyes, and long flaxen hair, flowing almoſt to " her waiſt, and finely curled at top." Nothing can evince the purity of her mind and the innocency of her conduct more, than Fowler's account to the Earl of Shrewſbury of the manner in which ſhe employed herſelf. He ſays, " My Lady Arabella ſpends her " tyme in lecture, reiding, hearing of ſervice, and preaching, and " viſiting all the Princeſſes;" he adds, " ſhe will not heare " of marriage;" the letter was written October 3, 1604. Her good ſenſe particularly was ſhewn in her prudent deportment before the Lords appointed to examine her and the Counteſs of Shrewſbury relative to her eſcape from confinement, for Mr. Moore told the Secretary Winwood that ſhe anſwered the nobleman " with good " judgement and diſcretion," whilſt Lady Shrewſbury acted " ut- " terly without reaſon." What has been ſaid of this lady will effectually ſilence the miſtaken opinion given of her perſon and abilities by the writer of her life, given in the Biographia Britannica, where he ſays, " She was far from being beautiful in her perſon, " and far from being diſtinguiſhed by any extraordinary qualities " of the mind;" to make the latter appear the more plauſible, he miſtakes the conduct of the Counteſs of Shrewſbury for this lady's, a circumſtance equally careleſs and blameable. I cannot but here obſerve, that with a mind naturally chearful, what muſt have been her unhappineſs when all her letters to her brother-in-law invariably run thus:

" Sweet brother,
" Every one forſakes me,
" But thoſe that cannot help
" Your moſt affectionate ſiſter,
" Arbella Seymaure."

Margaret, Q. of K. James IV.

Poor ill-fated Arbella, your firſt couſin and neareſt relation, K. James I. in whom you ought to have found the friend and protector, regarded all your virtues, all your accompliſhments, as rendering you the more dangerous rival of his greatneſs! She had two children, who died infants.

There is only to be added, that Queen Margaret had by Lord Methven, her third huſband, an only ſon, named Henry, who died in his infancy.

Children of K. James IV. and Q. Margaret.

Iſſue of King James IV. by Q. Margaret.

1. James, born at the palace of Holy-Rood, Feb. 21, 1507-8, ſtiled Prince of Scotland and the Iſles, and Duke of Rothſay; he died at Sterling July 14, 1510, where he was attended by the Biſhop of Galloway, who had the care of him. James.

2. Arthur, ſo named from his uncle, the Prince of Wales, was born Oct. 9, 1509, but died a child. Arthur.

3. James, who became King by the ſtile of James V. See the next part. James, afterwards V.

4. Alexander, poſthumous, born in Sterling caſtle in April, 1514, baptized by the Biſhop of Caithneſs, and died Jan. 15, 1516-17, whilſt his mother was in England: he was buried in the abbey church of Cambuſkeneth; authors ſpeak much of his extraordinary beauty, and that he bore the title of Duke of Rothſay. Should it not be Roſs? Alexander.

5. 6. Two daughters, who died infants. Two daughters

Illegitimate iſſue of K. James IV.

Illegitimate Children of K. James IV.

By Margaret, Daughter of Archibald Boyd, of Bonſhaw.

Alexander, Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's.

1. Alexander, Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, and Legate a Laterè, alſo Chancellor of Scotland, born in 1493; he was brought up with the utmoſt care, and ſent abroad to improve himſelf; his features were handſome, his perſon tall and graceful; in his temper he was amiable, prudent, learned, and magnificent; a good civilian, an admirer and judge of muſic; beloved and honored by Eraſmus, who has left us his character moſt elegantly expreſſed: he was a ſon worthy ſuch a father, deſerving the care of the accompliſhed Dr. Panter, Secretary of State, who was inferior to none in Europe in the knowledge of the Latin tongue, which he wrote with a purity only excelled by the above learned Dutchman. The Archbiſhop fell at Flodden, more lamented than any other perſon, his royal father alone excepted: his death was a great misfortune to his country.

Catherine.

2. Catherine, married to James, Earl of Morton.

By Margaret, eldeſt Daughter of John, Lord Drummond.

Many ſay that K. James made honorable love to this lady, his ſubject, and that not all the intreaties of his counſellors could induce him to break off this connection; but as a diſpenſation from Rome was neceſſary to authorize the nuptials, as ſhe was related to him, he was obliged to wait; but ſome envying the Drummonds, who had already given one Queen to Scotland, privately diſpatched the unfortunate fair before it arrived; if theſe circumſtances are true, ſhe and her child deſerve a much more honorable

Illegitimate iſſue of K. James IV.

place than in this page: it reminds us of K. Robert II.'s firſt marriage.

Jane, from whom deſcended the Earls of Huntley.

3. Jane, married to John, heir apparent of Lord Huntley, from whom deſcend the Earls of that title.

By Jean, or Janet, daughter of John, ſecond Lord Caſſilis, whom the King was enamoured of when he went, in 1507, a pilgrimage to St. Ninian, or Whitethorn, in Galloway, to implore mercy for his Queen, then dangerouſly ill, and pregnant; a ſtrange contradiction, in thus uniting ſuperſtition and gallantry; ſolicitude for his Queen, and a criminal paſſion for another: he met in Archibald, the fifth Earl of Angus, a rival in the affections of this lady, and who, unmindful of offending his ſovereign, carried her off, for which the enraged James confined him for ſome time to the iſle of Arran; but ſhe became, notwithſtanding, the third wife of that nobleman.

James, Earl of Murray.

4. James, created Earl of Murray in 1501, and received from his father many grants of lands, as he did alſo ſeveral baronies and eſtates from his half brother, K. James V. He died in 1544, leaving by his Counteſs, Margaret, daughter of Colin, third Earl of Argyle, an only child, Mary, married to John, ſon and heir-apparent to the Earl of Buchan; and as the title was adjudged a male fief, it became extinct.

By Iſabel, daughter of James, Earl of Buchan, ſecond ſon of Sir James Stewart, the "Black Knight of Lorn," by Joan, Queen Dowager of K. James I.

Jean, Lady Fleming.

5. Jean, married to Malcolm, third Lord Fleming, Chamberlain of Scotland, ſlain at Pinkie or Muſſelburgh, 1547; from this marriage deſcend the Earls of Wigton.

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Catherine, Counteſs of Morton.

6. Catherine, married to James, Earl of Morton, by whom ſhe had three daughters; from them are many deſcendants.

Jannet, wife of Sir John Drummond.

7. Jannet, who became the wife of Sir John Drummond, of Innerpeffry, whoſe only child, Iſabel, married to Sir Matthew Campbel, of Loudon.

PART VIII.

James V. King of Scotland.

KING JAMES V. the only ſurviving legitimate child of K. James IV. except a poſthumous one, who died an infant, was born April 5, 1511, and crowned at the early age of one year and ſome months, February 24, 1512-13. His dominions and himſelf were entruſted to the care of the Queen, his mother, his couſin, the Duke of Albany, or the Earl of Arran, juſt as the different factions that rent the kingdom prevailed. That eminence to which Scotland had been raiſed in naval power, in police, arts, magnificence, and ſplendor, had totally diſappeared during his minority, with the ſame ſeeming enchantment as it had been introduced by the late King. The navy almoſt deſtroyed, murders and robberies were committed with impunity; no rank exempted any one, and it was ſufficient to indemnify the perpetrators, to declare that he was the partizan of a Douglas; trade, and with it all the elegancies, and many of the neceſſaries of life were no more. The treaſury was empty; the arſenals and magazines unfurniſhed; and the palaces decaying, ſtripped of all the ſuperb and coſtly furniture that had adorned them in the late reign. James felt the injuries done him, and inſtantly ſet about reforming the abuſes that had ſprung up. By ſome laudable and ſome blameable means he again filled his coffers, ſupplied himſelf with arms and ammunition neceſſary, as well for defence as invaſion; reſtored, in ſome meaſure, his fleet, and travelled with the ſwiftneſs of an eagle after thoſe banditti that lived upon the plunder of the honeſt and induſtrious; he ſailed to the iſles; he traverſed the Highlands; he viſited the borders, where thieving was reduced to a ſcience, and the guilty prided themſelves in their wickedneſs; the chief of theſe was Armſtrong, who had the effrontery to mock the majeſty of his ſovereign by James V. King of Scotland.

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appearing before him attended with ſix and twenty armed gentlemen on horſeback ſumptuouſly habited: James, miſtaking him for ſome nobleman of high rank, returned his ſalute; but finding whom he was, pointing him out, ſaid, "what does that knave want that a "king ſhould have, but a crown and a ſword of honor?" and, notwithſtanding all his offers of jewels, money, and other gifts, ordered him and his followers to be hung:* as this arch plunderer went to execution he had the audacity to ſay to the monarch, "fool that I am "to look for warm water under ice, by aſking grace of a graceleſs "face." By ſuch prompt and ſeaſonable ſeverity order was reſtored, and to preſerve it he appointed regular judges; but men, ſo long accuſtomed to a lawleſs courſe of life, regarded this and other innovations of a like nature as cruel hardſhips, and abridgements of their native liberty. His palaces again became ſuitable to his dignity †, and he eſtabliſhed various manufactories: for this purpoſe he invited, "gunners, wrights, carvers, painters, maſons, ſmiths, "harneſs-makers, tapeſters, broadſters, taylors, cunning chirur-"geons, apothecaries, and other kind of craftſmen." Nor was any ſovereign more attentive to the complaints of the poor; they had always acceſs to his perſon; he heard their grievances with attention, and relieved their injuries with ſpeed; and, for the good of all his ſubjects, he reſtored the wiſe, but long-forgotton, laws. "Every "cottage exulted in his glorious epithet of KING OF THE POOR." He alſo taught his ſubjects ſubmiſſion to parental authority by his dutiful conduct to his mother; and temperance by his own ſobriety. Nor was he without a knowledge of all thoſe martial exerciſes that were

* Lindſay of Pittſcottie ſays, Armſtrong alſo told King James "But had I known "this, I ſhould have lived on the borders in deſpight of King Henry and you both; "for I know that King Harry would weigh down my beſt horſe with gold to know "that I were condemned to die this day."

† To form an idea of the grandeur of the Scotch court at its eſtabliſhment in the reign of King James V. when the Earl of Angus was miniſter, take the names of the officers; which were a treaſurer, comptroller, ſecretary, Mr. Macer, Mr. Houſehold, Cupper, Carver, Mr. Stabler, Mr. Hunter, Mr. Falconer, Mr. Porter, and a fool, called John Mackilrie.

then ſo highly eſteemed; and converſant both in what related to trade and mineralogy: Scotland never, whilſt a ſeparate kingdom, attempted to excel in the firſt, nor has ever again ſtrove to work the gold mines of Crawford Moor,—a ſufficient proof how much theſe depended upon his own judgement. Though his education was ſo much neglected, he had taken himſelf ſome trouble to improve it; his underſtanding was good, and he ſhewed no ſmall genius in a humorous poem, intitled "The Gaberlunzie Man:" the literati have ſhewn themſelves partial to him; Arioſto paid great compliments to his memory under the name of "Zerbino," as did ſeveral other Italian poets in elegant Latin; and Ronſard, a native of France, has alſo ſpoken highly of him; there is not, however, much to be depended upon from theſe encomiums: in Italy James' genius was unknown; and Ronſard ſaw him only as the ally and ſon-in-law of his ſovereign, and perhaps too as his own benefactor. It muſt be owned that Scotland advanced much higher in the ſcale of importance after his majority, than whilſt he was in his tutelage; the greateſt of the Chriſtian monarchs courting an affinity with him, and offering him their relations, trying alſo to win him by admitting him into their moſt illuſtrious orders of knighthood; he was graced with thoſe of St. George, the Golden Fleece, and St. Michael; we read too of a magnificence in his reign that never afterwards appeared in this northern kingdom: as a ſpecimen I will mention the entertainment he received from the Earl of Athol in 1538, in the Highlands, whither he went to hunt; it unites elegance with grandeur, and is very greatly expreſſive of the wealth of his kingdom, and of its rapid improvement, for it was ſoon after his attaining the poſſeſſion of his power. To this moſt beloved ſport of hunting, the Queen mother, foreign Ambaſſadors, with their court, were invited: in a pleaſant meadow in the wilds of the rude majeſtic ſcene they found a palace, no way deficient to any of the royal ones in Europe in ſpace or conveniencies, built of green timber tied together with ſlender twigs; and this was three ſtories high, with glazed windows; and there were four well-imitated block houſes at each corner; the floors were laid with turf, in which were all the flowers then in

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bloom, as if they had been each a garden, with two great forts on the ſide of the gate, and a portcullis formed of trees falling down in the manner of a barrace; the whole incloſed by a canal of ſixteen feet deep and thirty in breadth, the only paſſage leading to the palace was by a drawbridge. The inſide walls were hung with fine tapeſtry and ſilk arras, not inferior to the palaces of his majeſty at Falkland or elſewhere, and the viands were equal to the furniture, there being "ale, beer, wine, both white and claret, malvery, "muſkadel, hippocras, aqua vitæ, wheat bread, main bread, and gin-"gerbread; with fleſhes, beef, mutton, lamb, veal, veniſon, gooſe, "griel, capon, coney, crane, ſwan, partridge, plover, duck, "drake, briſſelcock, and pawnies, blackcock, and moor fowl, "cappercaillies." The canals abounded with "delicate fiſh, as "ſalmons, trouts, perch, pike, eels, and every other freſh-water "fiſh," that could be procured and placed there; and as ſuitable attendants, there were "proper ſtewards, cunning baxters, excellent "cooks, and pottingars, with confections and drugs for their deſerts, "the halls and chambers had coſtly bedding, veſſels and napery," all ſuitable to the illuſtrious gueſts, who remained there three days and as many nights: the novel and ſplendid ſcene greatly aſtoniſhed the Pope's Nuncio, as there was no town nearer than within twenty miles, and he had always thought that Scotland had been the moſt terrible part of the world, eſpecially this northern extremity, where was nothing but wood and wilderneſs *; and he was ſtill more ſur-priſed, when he ſaw that immediately upon their leaving the palace it was ſet on fire, ſaying "I marvil, Sir, that you ſhould thole (order) "your fair place to be burnt, that your grace has been ſo well lodged "in:" to whom the King anſwered, "this is the uſe of our Highland "men, though they be never ſo well lodged, to burn their lodging "when they depart." Lord Athol expended upon their ſplendid entertainment 1000l. each day, a ſum of great importance at that period. In Athol and Strathern James killed no leſs than "600

* The Pope's Nuncio, in expreſſing his wonder at ſuch magnificence in Scotland, *not very politely* added, becauſe it was called the a—e of the world by other countries.

" animals, i. e. harts and hinds, with other ſmall beaſts, as roes and " roebucks, wolves, foxes, and wild cats." But whatever praiſe is due to James for his juſtice, probity, and temperance,—for his ſupplying his caſtles and forts with artillery and ammunition,—for the magnificence he diſplayed, or for the encouragement he gave to learning, arts, manufactures, and commerce, — yet unfortunately theſe virtues were more than balanced by the vices that diſgraced his character. He puniſhed often with too great ſeverity; ſometimes revenge actuated him more than juſtice; and his condemning Joan, ſiſter to the Earl of Angus, to the flames, more for her attachment to her brother, than diſaffection to him, ſhews a ferocious barbarity; for to wreak his vengeance upon the Douglaſes, by putting a lady of exquiſite beauty to ſo dreadful a death, was a wickedneſs only paralleled by his tyrannic ſanguinary uncle, Henry VIII *. Joan met her fate, horrid as it was, with a Roman courage, and fell beloved, pitied, lamented by all: Lord Glamis, her huſband, in endeavouring to eſcape from his priſon, by the rope being too ſhort, fell and was daſhed to pieces; their ſon, a child, was confined during the remainder of this reign. Nor was he leſs criminal in perſecuting the proteſtants, whom he doomed to the ſtake, though he was conſcious that Rome and her prieſthood wanted much reformation; yet their interceſſions could not ſave his relation, Sir James Hamilton, deſcended from the Princeſs Mary, daughter of King James II., though they pleaded moſt earneſtly for him, as their wicked inſtrument by which ſo many had died martyrs to their opinions. In him religion was uſed merely as a ſtate engine; he neither valued the tenets he burnt others for diſbelieving, nor the clergy who taught them; for he made them the panders of his guilty pleaſures; and they had the meanneſs to ſeek out women to gratify his inordinate paſſions; he conſtantly ſqueezed out vaſt ſums from them, and ſaddled their preferments with heavy penſions; he even obliged them to do this for the maintenance of his natural children, as

* Mr. Pinkerton ſays, " that Lady Glamis was actually concerned in a plot of the " houſe of Douglas againſt the life, there is every room to believe, from original " papers which will ſoon be laid before the public."

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ſoon as they were born. Though in no time, nor in any country, were the clergy of the church of Rome more ſhockingly depraved than in his reign, yet either becauſe, as Sir Ralph Sadler ſays, "they only were capable," or to ſhew his marked averſion to his nobility, he gave all the authority in his kingdom into their hands; yet thoſe ſtorms of paſſion, that never diſgraced his father, would fall upon them; he even once taxed them as the cauſe of his cruelty to his Peers, to the peril of his crown; concluding, "wherefore "gave my predeceſſors ſo many lands and rents to the Kirk, was it "to maintain hawks, dogs, and w——s to a number of idle prieſts; "the King of England burns, the King of Denmark beheads you: "I ſhall ſtick you with this wingar," which he probably had done, as he drew his dagger, if they had not, fearing his threats, haſtily quitted his preſence. Though they were far too attentive in ſupplying his inclinations, yet James perhaps thought their revenue ought only to have been appropriated to the maintenance of what he ſo much delighted in,—illicit amours, horſes, hawks, and dogs: his paſſion for women was boundleſs; the moſt beauteous of his ſubjects, whether noble or plebeian, married or ſingle, were conducted to him, and obliged to ſubmit to his embraces whether they were willing or not. His partiality for France in oppoſition to England was impolitic to exceſs: Francis I. had nothing to offer him, but a dangerous friendſhip; Henry VIII. his uncle and neareſt relation, courted him to accept his affection, a circumſtance ſcarce credible in that haughty monarch; his nearneſs to the ſucceſſion to the Engliſh crown ought to have made him joyfully accept the offer of Henry's friendſhip, and the honours and truſt he before had propoſed to his father, eſpecially when Henry had only one child, a daughter, whom if he had married it would have brought him ſtill nearer to the throne of England, and he would have enjoyed with her the marriage crown, if he had accepted her, in preference to a Princeſs of France; and if he had poſſeſſed the prudence to have lived in peace with England, perhaps too he might have bequeathed both the Britiſh crowns to his poſterity. Henry, after repeated inſults in refuſing him a perſonal conference, at the inſtigation of the juſtly-alarmed

clergy, at length renounced that regard he had always ſhewn him; the armies of each were drawn out, but his ſubjects refuſed to do more than defend their country from invaſion; they and their fathers had felt the weight of Henry's arms at Flodden, nor had they any cauſe of complaint againſt him; they were neither actuated by revenge nor ambition; James could not forgive Henry's affording an aſylum to the Douglaſes his enemies, and he is ſuppoſed to have been flattered with hopes of his uncle's being dethroned by the Roman Catholic powers, and himſelf placed in his ſtead; the nobles made no ſcruple therefore of manifeſting, that they judged it a private quarrel of his own, and in which the nation had no concern; neither did they ſcruple to confeſs their diſlike to his perſon and government, and even threatened to ſeize upon, and execute his miniſters, as their progenitors had James III.'s at Lawder-Bridge; juſtly alarmed, he left his army at Fallamoor, and fled to Edinburgh; the Engliſh, who had at laſt made an inroad, were oppoſed by the Scotch army, but the moment they retired the Scots refuſed to follow them; whatever arguments James could uſe to perſuade, they perſiſted in their determination, until Lord Maxwell, to gratify his ſovereign, and retaliate for the devaſtations the Duke of Norfolk, the Engliſh General, had made, raiſed an army, and paſſed into the other kingdom by the way of Solway-Moſs, deſtroying the villages as they went. Sir Thomas Wharton, warden of the marches, alarmed at the ſmoking ruins, with others in haſte got about 500 men, and with theſe few troops oppoſed an army of 10,000. No ſooner were the Engliſh forces ſeen than the Scotch halted to proclaim their General, and read his commiſſion, impowering him to take the command; the royal banner was diſplayed, when Oliver Sinclair, a court favorite, was ſeen advanced upon two tall men's ſhoulders;* amazement ſtruck ſome, indignation all; the nobility felt themſelves inſulted, and their fol-

* Poor Sinclair lived to a great age; his patience having been worn out by the keeneſt adverſity, he went to court in the reign of K. James VI., and attended the levee of that worthleſs miniſter Arran: as the whole of his dreſs ſpoke poverty, he was ſternly aſked by the favourite, his name and buſineſs; to which he replied "I am Oliver Sin-"clair;" a leſſon this, not only to Arran, but to other minions of fortune.

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lowers reſented the ſuppoſed injuſtice to their chiefs; ſo that either from a premeditated plan, or the impulſe of a ſudden diſpleaſure, ſome haſtily retired, and the others ſuffered themſelves to be led away priſoners by a handful of Engliſh, whom they regarded leſs their enemy than their ſovereign; the artillery was alſo loſt, which could not be ſpeedily repaired. James, who had foreſeen a ſtorm gathering, had long ſuffered great oppreſſion of ſpirits, ſpent his time anxiouſly waiting the event of the invaſion at the caſtle of Lochmaber, or Carlevarock, twelve miles from this extraordinary ſcene, not daring to truſt himſelf with his army. Information was brought of the deſertion of his nobles; all the paſſions that could trouble the mind, or injure the human frame, ſeized him; removing to Falkland, he ſhut himſelf up, fearing ſurprizal by his chieftains, who had gone too far to ſeek, or think of, pardon; deſpondency overwhelm'd him, and there appeared a wildneſs bordering upon inſanity: every thing alarmed, every thing reminded him of his ſituation; the puiſſant Henry without, his nobility within the kingdom, ſeemed to unite their wiſhes to effect his ruin: death only afforded him an aſylum from it; by the turbulence of contending paſſions, and almoſt a total abſtinence from food, he ſoon brought himſelf to the threſhold of the tomb, and the birth of his daughter, and then only child, conducted him into it; for whilſt in the greateſt perturbation of mind and feebleneſs of body, a meſſenger came with ſpeed from Linlithgow, to inform him that his Queen was delivered of "a fair daughter;" he juſt articulated, "it will end as it began;" "the crown "came with a laſs, and it will go with one: many miſeries approach "this poor kingdom; King Henry will either maſter it by arms, or "win it by marriage;" giving his hand to be kiſſed by his attendants, he lifted up his dying eyes towards heaven, then ſuddenly turning his face to the wall, he faintly brought out the words "Solway-Moſs," and ſome other broken expreſſions relative to the diſgrace he ſuffered there, and expired, December 13, 1542, having lived only thirty-one years and eight months.

His remains were taken, January 14, from Falkland to Edinburgh, conducted

conducted by perſons holding torches, others playing melancholy tunes, banners were alſo diſplayed, and the roads were lined with cloth; Cardinal Beaton, the Earls of Arran, Argyle, Rothes, Mariſhal, and other noblemen attended, the firſt with his head muffled up, as chief mourner, the others, "with garments expreſſive of their "ſorrow," by his own deſire his body was buried in the abbey church of the holy-rood, near that of the queen his firſt wife; but a great part of the church having been thrown down by the Engliſh ſome time afterwards, his grandſon K. James VI., with a pious care, enbalmed it, and putting it in a new coffin, depoſited it in another vault, and erected over it a coſtly monument, adorned with ſuitable arms, and other ornaments. At the revolution, the mob broke into the royal vaults, and treated the illuſtrious dead with a barbarous outrage: Dec. 2, 1768, the church itſelf fell in, when they were again diſturbed; in 1776, Mr. Arnott ſaw the leaden coffin, but now no veſtige remains of it. Mr. Pennant ſays, a gentleman informed him, that he had ſeen the royal corpſes, but in a decayed ſtate, though the beards remained upon ſome. Mr. Groſe acquaints us, that they are now decently removed from the eye of idle curioſity.

Though this monarch was cruel, avaricious, and libidinous to the greateſt exceſs, yet his death was a misfortune to his dominions; as they rapidly declined after, and never recovered their ſtrength and riches whilſt a ſeparate kingdom.

James in his perſon was of the middle ſize, elegant and majeſtic, though ſtrong and athletic, of a graceful behaviour; his face was oval, his eyes blue, his noſe aquiline, and his hair yellow; his features were handſome, as appears by his gold coins, which faithfully repreſent them; his money is of the fineſt workmanſhip of any then in Europe, and which have ſeldom ſince been excelled; he is the firſt of the ſovereigns of his family that ſuffered his beard to grow; his was forked. It is ſingular, that when his money was of ſo fine an execution, one of his great ſeals (for he had two) ſhould be ſo miſerably engraved. There are five prints of King

PART VIII. James, Jacques V. a buſt, Vanderwerf, p. p. a Gunſt, ſc. h. ſh.

James V. King of Scotland. James V. King of Scotland, Clark, ſc. 8vo. James V. King of Scots, anno 1514, from Drummond's hiſtory of the four Kings of the name of James. James V. J. Taylor ſculp. in armour, and ſcarf bare headed, engraved for Guthrie's hiſtory, this and James V. from a painting in the Duke of Devonſhire's poſſeſſion. Harding del. This is a moſt beautiful portrait, and evinces that the laſt-mentioned one is a fictitious engraving.

Magdalen, the firſt Queen of K. James V.

Magdalen, the Firſt Queen of K. James V.

So equally poiſed were the powers in Europe, that they eagerly ſought to gain James by an alliance with a princeſs of their own family; the moſt natural was certainly with Mary, then heir apparent to K. Henry VIII. her father, who was his uncle, and neareſt relation; this was, as it were, adopting him for his child, and ſettling the imperial crown of England upon his head; in 1523, his guardians, together with the generality of the nation, aſſented to it; and in 1525, Henry was ſo anxious for its completion, that though ſhe had been promiſed to the Emperor Charles V. under a heavy penalty,* yet he would gladly have forfeited the ſum to unite her to James; and in 1526, the parliament of Scotland confirmed the treaty of marriage; but he eluded this offer, flattering and ſubſtantial as it was. Henry having other children ſome few years after, the Scotch monarch, who had an invincible diſlike to the Engliſh, though his mother was of that nation, turned his eyes towards France, whoſe ſovereign, Francis I. gave him hopes, by the recommendation of the Duke of Albany, of conferring upon him his eldeſt daughter in marriage; this called forth the envy of the Emperor, who, in 1534, ſent him the order of the golden fleece, and an offer of a vaſt treaſure with either of theſe three princeſſes, Mary of Auſtria, his ſiſter, widow of Lewis, K. of Hungary†; Mary, daughter of Emanuel, K. of

* Mary, daughter of K. Henry VIII. and for ſeveral years heir apparent to his throne, was born in 1515-16, affianced to K. James V. to the Duke of Orleans, and to the Emperor Charles V. but ſucceeding to the crown by the death of her half-brother K. Edward VI. ſhe married Philip II. King of Spain, ſon of that Emperor, for whom ſhe was as much too old, as ſhe had been too young for his father.

† Mary of Auſtria was born in 1505, married to Lewis K. of Hungary in 1514,

Magdalen, the firſt Queen of K. James V.

Portugal, by Eleanora another of his ſiſters *; or Mary of England, his couſin, who now, as her father had divorced Queen Catherine his aunt, he affected to adopt; but James, after expreſſing his gratitude for the honor done him, declined marrying either of them; but not to refuſe an alliance with the head of the Germanic body, he aſked the hand of Chriſtiana, daughter of Chriſtiern II. K. of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, by Iſabella, alſo a ſiſter of Charles; but this was only fineſſe, for he knew ſhe was then engaged†; and having his family's predilections for France ſo ſtrongly rooted that nothing could counteract it, he ſent over ambaſſadors to demand Magdalen, Francis I.'s eldeſt ſurviving daughter; but his moſt chriſtian majeſty declined it, urging her weakly ſtate of health, recommending in her ſtead, his relation, Mary of Bourbon, daughter of the Duke of Vendoſme, and James ordered Beaton, then Abbot of Arbroath, afterwards Cardinal, to ſend him ſome account of the lady, who adviſed him to marry her, and not liſten either to the Emperor or the Pope, who, for intereſted motives only, wanted to make him at variance with K. Henry his uncle, and who in 1536,

who left her a widow without children in 1526; ſhe never married again, but became governeſs of the Low Countries, where ſhe ruled with great mildneſs and juſtice, from the year 1531 to 1536, and died October 18, 1558.

* Mary of Portugal, afterwards married to the Emperor Charles V. who had offered her to James, ſhe died in childbed in 1539; ſhe was the mother of Philip II.

† Chriſtiana, the daughter of the depoſed tyrant Chriſtiern II. was born in 1573, and was married, firſt to Francis Sforza, Duke of Milan, and afterwards to Fra. Duke of Lorrain; ſhe died in 1590. It is obſervable that this Princeſs, and the two mentioned in the former notes, were very handſome, and ever conducted themſelves with ſingular prudence. She refuſed K. Henry VIII. during her firſt widowhood.

In 1530, ſays Lindſay, "the King ſent ambaſſadors to the Emperor for marriage, "viz. Sir John Campbell of Loudon, Knight, Sir David Lindſay of the Mont, "Lyon herald, who were received by the Emperor, and well entertained, and great-"ly rewarded for the King of Scotland's ſake; where was preſented to them the two "fair gentlewomen, which were the Emperor's ſiſter's daughters, which were fair and "pleaſant in beauty, and ſeemly in their behaviour, for the which cauſe the ambaſ-"ſadors brought both their pictures to the King, and preſented them to him; how "he was content with them I cannot tell, but the marriage proceeded no farther.

PART VIII. Magdalen, the first Queen of K James V.

was prevailed upon to conſent to this marriage, conditionally, that James would grant him the often-demanded meeting; however this he again refuſed, and determining to effect an alliance with France, he ſet ſail in this year, though much againſt the opinion of many of his ſubjects; and Sir James Hamilton had the courage whilſt he ſlept, to ſteer again to Scotland; but no excuſes or ſubmiſſions could mollify the enraged King, who embarking again with many of his nobles, and other eminent perſons of his court, as if they were in the ſuit of Beaton; and himſelf an attendant upon John Tennant, they landed at Dieppe and paid a viſit at the palace of Vendoſme; where, from a picture which he had ſent over to her, the Princeſs knew and owned him; finding himſelf diſcovered, he took the Duke and Ducheſs in his arms, ſaluted them, their daughter, the ladies, and grandees who were there; no reſpect was omitted that could be paid to James; and there can be little doubt, but that the Duke believed he came purpoſely to demand the Princeſs his daughter; "muſic, "with galliard dancing in maſks, and pretty farces, and plays, with "juſting and running at the great horſe;" and every other amuſement known of, was practiſed to pleaſe the Scotch monarch; a coſtly palace was prepared to entertain him, the apartments of which were decorated with coſtly ornaments, and hung with "tapeſtry of cloth "of gold, and fine ſilk; the floor laid over with green frieze, the "beds hung with cloth of gold; and a peal (circle) of gold ſet with "precious ſtones, which was hung about the king's head when he "ſat at meat; and the halls and chambers were perfumed with ſweet "odours, which were very coſtly, and delectable to the ſenſe:" but for ſome cauſe not well explained, James never propoſed what the Duke of Vendoſme ſuppoſed he came to conclude; for, ſwayed either by vanity, avarice, or a prior affection he had conceived for the Princeſs Magdalen, he returned to Rouen in his way to Paris; learning that Francis was going to Provence to attack the imperial forces, he reſolved to join him, but the dauphin meeting James (by the French monarch's deſire) in the chapel between Tarray and St. Saphorin, in the Lionnois, and having informed him that the Emperor had been obliged to quit the kingdom, they immediately purſued

their route to Paris, the dauphin treating him with the affectionate regard of a brother; and when they arrived there, he found in Francis the tenderneſs of a parent, who omitted no endearment that could ſhew the ſatisfaction he received in the ſincere attachment he had manifeſted to France: it was, however, in vain that Francis urged him to marry Mary of Bourbon; James was bent upon uniting himſelf to the daughter of one of the moſt puiſſant monarchs; the ſplendor of the alliance dazzled him; when he firſt ſaw Magdalen ſhe was in a chariot "on account of her ill health;" but this did not diſcourage him, the tender paſſion ſeemed to have mutually ſeized upon them, and they declared they never would conſent to any other marriage, though the danger of going to ſo inhoſpitable a clime was urged to her; and the phyſicians declared that he muſt not look for an heir to his crown from this union. Francis, ſeeing that oppoſition tended more to aid than decreaſe the flame, conſented to their nuptials, though with the greateſt reluctance. James inſtantly ſent over the joyful news to Scotland, ordering an addition to his attendants of ſix Earls, ſix Lords, ſix Biſhops, and twenty great Barons, with whom he was "moſt familiar;" and they were directed not to leave their beſt garments behind them. They complied with their ſovereign's deſire, and the ceremony of marriage was performed Jan. 1, 1557, in the church of Notre Dame in Paris, in the preſence of the Kings of France and Navarre, the Queen, Dauphin, and the other parts of the royal family, of ſeven Cardinals, of all the nobility of France, of great numbers of the Scotch nobles, beſides a prodigious concourſe of the firſt characters that the ſplendor of ſuch an auguſt meeting drew from the neighbouring nations. Ronſard, in a kind of epithalamium not inelegantly, and very minutely, deſcribes the perſons of the royal bride and bridegroom; the Duke of Orleans, whoſe page he was, preſented him to the Queen, when ſhe left France, and whom he attended into Scotland. France diſplayed all her riches and gallantry to honour this wedding; nothing had ever equalled it before in that kingdom; but James even here made preſents worthy her ſon-in-law, for he ordered a number of covered cups filled with coined gold, and frames of the ſame metal to be preſented

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to the gueſts as the production of Scotland, and he was the moſt conſpicuous figure in all the martial games; as he had won the Princeſs, ſo he did every prize that was contended for at the ring. Magdalen had 100,000 crowns of the ſum for her "loucher" or fortune, which was paid in ready money, and a penſion of 30,000 franks was granted to James for life; in return for ſo large a portion, ſhe had ſettled upon her, all the manors which the Queens of Scotland had been uſed to have, with the additions of the Earldoms of Fife and Strathern, the palace of Falkland and other lands of the beſt, and moſt certain revenue: but if Francis was liberal in her fortune, he ſeemed much more ſo in the preſents he made her, opening his jewel office and wardrobe to her; deſiring her to pleaſe herſelf and not ſpare: ſhe took thence circles of gold, and ſilk, jewels, chains of the precious metals, tapeſtry, cloth of gold, velvet, ſatin, damaſk, taffeties, and other ſilks to make up for cloathing, and this in ſuch profuſion, that Scotland had never witneſſed ſuch magnificence before, not even in the late reign; and James, now one of the family, received for himſelf preſents ſtill more valuable; all his expences, from his landing in France until his leaving it were borne, and he had given him alſo two large ſhips of burden completely equipped and ſtored with ammunition, and every thing elſe neceſſary for war, with ordnance and rigging, twenty-ſix pieces of large braſs ordnance for battery, thirty ſmall ones of the ſame metal for the field; four ſuits of rich arras hangings, of eight pieces each, wrought with gold and ſilver: four ſuits of hangings of cloth of gold and ſilver "impaled" with velvet; eight ſuits of coarſer arras, very good; three cloths of ſtate very rich, and of excellent work; three rich beds, with all their furniture of ſilk and gold; a large cupboard of plate, all over gilt, and curiouſly wrought; another of ſilver ingilt, the two eſteemed at 100,000 crowns; ſixteen rich table cloths of all ſorts, and twenty Perſian carpets, fair and large. At parting, the French monarch alſo preſented him with twelve of his beſt horſes, and twenty ſtands of harneſs double gilt, and enamelled; the young King and Queen with their attendants in fifty ſhips, under convoy of the Salamander and the Meriſher (lent for that purpoſe, and long retained in

Scotland) and two of James's, the Marival and Great-lion, came ſafe to Leith, May 2. The moment ſhe ſet her foot upon the land, proſtrating, ſhe kiſſed it, bleſſing God for having conducted her thither in ſafety, and prayed for every happineſs to attend the dominions and ſubjects of her huſband; ſhe was conducted to the palace of Holyrood-houſe, from whence a proclamation iſſued, commanding rejoicings to be made throughout the kingdom; and as the whole aim of her conduct was to render herſelf beloved by K. James and the Scots, ſhe was little leſs than adored by them, and a reception would have been given her equal to the great merit ſhe poſſeſſed, and her high birth demanded, had not the hectic fever, under which ſhe had long laboured, deprived her of life, July 22 following, not more than forty days after ſhe landed in Scotland, to the inexpreſſible grief of all; ſo univerſal a ſorrow having never before pervaded all ranks of people, the Scots for the firſt time expreſſed their loſs, by putting on mourning, a cuſtom until then unknown to them; and perhaps the grief unfeignedly felt for her loſs was not a little heightened by the known favorable light in which ſhe viewed the proteſtant tenets, having imbibed them from the inſtruction of the Queen of Navarre. She was buried with great funeral ſolemnity in the abbey church of the Holyrood, near the remains of K. James II. If we believe the French, the climate leſs haſtened her death than the change of the gay magnificent refined court of her father, to that of Scotland: the difference muſt have been mortifying, and the compariſon unpleaſant; but love makes deſerts beautiful, and paints the ruſtic as captivating; novelty had not loſt its reliſh we may believe, and therefore it is difficult to intirely acquieſce in what they have ſaid, any more than, that ſhe, frequently recalling the idea of having bid an eternal adieu to France, exclaimed "Helas! voulu être reine!" It cannot be doubted that her loſs was a great misfortune to Scotland; ſhe might have moderated her huſband's paſſion for promiſcuous amours, might have ſoftened his ſevere temper, and at leaſt leſſened the baneful influence of the Romiſh clergy. Magdalen was a captivating figure; a certain languor, the conſequence of a weak conſtitution, rendering her beautiful features more intereſting, and the

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PART VIII. accompliſhments ſhe poſſeſſed added greatly to her charms. When the royal vaults were ſacrilegiouſly broken into, her body was thrown about. In 1776, Mr. Arnott ſaw there the head of this Queen, which had been ſeparated from it, and he ſays it was even then "entire and "beautiful." How much credit would it have done the magiſtracy of Edinburgh had they ſooner collected the remains of departed majeſty, and placed them in a vault in one of their churches. England has witneſſed ſimilar indecencies; they reflect diſgrace upon any country. There is an engraving of Magdeleine de France, by Vanderwerff p. P. a Gunſt. ſc. h. ſh.

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James having loſt his beloved Queen, turned his eyes again towards France; he ſent Beaton to ſolicit in his behalf the hand of Mary, daughter of Claude, Duke of Guize, and widow of Lewis II. Duke of Longueville, a propoſal embraced with avidity by her and the French court; but he met a rival he did not expect in his uncle, Henry VIII. who was then, by the premature death of the beauteous Jane Seymour, become a widower, and who had ſent over a confidential ſervant to examine the perſon of the Princeſs, who reported that ſhe had a beautiful face, was tall and ſtately in her deportment, with other ſuch requiſites as made her entirely ſuitable to his taſte; he was therefore doubly enraged at James for having twice dared to fix his affections without conſulting him, and for not declining his addreſſes to one whom he wiſhed to marry; but his anger did not influence the Scotch King; though Francis I. found it requiſite to ſend over his miniſter, Pomeray; but the haughty Henry would hear no apology, though he even had aſked Mary, his daughter, whom he had juſt illegitimatized, for the Duke of Orleans, the ſecond ſon of France; he then offered Mary of Bourbon, but Henry ſpurned at the idea of marrying one his nephew had refuſed; and indeed this Princeſs, with whom James had ſpent eight days in all the pomp and magnificence the Duke,

her father, could beſtow, and when, as tokens of regard, the young monarch and ſhe had exchanged " chains, rings, tablets, " with diamonds, rubies, and many other precious jewels," ſoon after fell a victim to her ſenſibility, in having James a ſecond time prefer another to her. Henry equally rejected either of the Ducheſs of Longueville's younger ſiſters, though as beautiful and as accompliſhed; he acted with the ſame obſtinacy as if theſe Princeſſes had been daughters of his own nobility: happily he was ſo involved with the Emperor, with whom at that time Francis was upon terms of amity, and his own kingdom in arms from diſaffection, relative to religion, or elſe probably war would have been declared both againſt Scotland and France; but as it was, all his bluſtering anſwered no purpoſe; eſpecially as the Princeſs decidedly declared in favor of the nephew, preferring with him the leſs reſplendent crown to the unwieldy ſanguinary uncle; perhaps ſhe might entertain the ſame ſentiments as the Ducheſs of Milan expreſſed, who had juſt refuſed the honor of being Queen of England, ſending in anſwer to the propoſal, that " had ſhe two heads, one ſhould be " at his Majeſty's ſervice; but as ſhe had only one ſhe choſe to " keep it." His Chriſtian Majeſty ſent to James to haſten the negociation, and to diſpatch his fleet to conduct the bride to his ſhores; the Earl of Murray had orders to go over and aſſiſt Beaton. In January following ſhe was married by proxy; Lord Maxwell was appointed Admiral and Commiſſioner to conduct her to Scotland, and the better to protect her perſon, 2000 men were put on board the fleet; the French monarch alſo ſent a conſiderable ſquadron, under the command of his High Admiral, D'Annebant, accompanied with many of the nobility of France: the Queen embarked at Newhaven, now Havre de Grace, and whatever Henry might have intended, ſhe arrived ſafely at Fyfeneſs, near Balconny, where ſhe ſtopped, until an eſcort of horſe arrived; James, who was waiting for the event at St. Andrew's, " with the whole Lords " ſpiritual and temporal, with many Barons, Lairds, and Gentle- " men, in their beſt array," received her Majeſty at the New Abbey Gate, in that city, upon the eaſt ſide of which was formed a tri-

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umphant arch, conſtructed by Sir David Lindſay, of the Mont Lion-Herald; over this was repreſented a cloud, as coming out of Heaven, which opened when the Queen came, and out of the entrance there appeared "a fair lady, moſt like an angel," preſenting the keys of Scotland to her Majeſty, expreſſive that all the hearts in the kingdom were open to receive her; and then Sir David made ſeveral addreſſes to the royal bride, recommending her to "ſerve God, "obey her huſband, and keep her body clean, according to God's will "and commandments." She was then conducted to her palace, called the New-Inns, ſuitably adorned; here ſhe was received by the whole body of the clergy, who conducted her to the cathedral, where ſhe was married, and there heard "maſſes, ſongs, and playing of or-"gans, with great ſolemnity;" from thence they came to the King's palace, where ſhe dined, and great rejoicings continued there until ſupper-time. In the morning ſhe viſited the Black and Grey Friars, the Old and New College, and St. Leonard's, and received the Provoſt and Burgeſſes. When ſhe met the King in her palace, upon her return, ſhe told him, ſhe had never, in ſo ſmall a ſpace in France, ſeen ſo many good faces as ſhe had that day in Scotland, declaring how much the country had been miſrepreſented to her, as having none of thoſe agreeable things that were found elſewhere; but that ſhe was now undeceived, admiring the fair countenances of the people. "Forſooth, madam," replied the King, "you ſhall ſee better, pleaſe God; ere you go "through Scotland you will ſee many goodlike men and women, "with other commodities that will be to your contentment;" and James omitted no opportunity of affording his Queen every pleaſure during the forty days they remained in that city, as ſinging, dancing, maſks, plays, and other Princely games; or juſts, tournaments, archery, hunting, and hawking. From St. Andrew's the bridal pair went to Cowpar, in Fife, where they dined; thence to Falkland, where they remained ſeven or eight days, ſpending the time in hunting fallow deer. From this palace they removed to Sterling, where they were entertained by thoſe of the caſtle and the town; leaving this place he conducted her to Linlithgow,

where they ſtayed a day or two; this royal reſidence extremely pleaſed her majeſty; ſhe confeſſed ſhe had never ſeen a more princely palace. From this favorite ſpot they went to Edinburgh caſtle, where they were received in a moſt ſplendid manner by the Provoſt and corporation, who preſented "ſpices, wine, gold, and "ſilver;" and the city, at their own expence, alſo exhibited "great triumphs, farces, and plays." It appears that James was reſolved to convince his Queen that his dominions would bear inſpecting; for not content with thus conducting Mary to his capital, he ſoon after ſet out in proceſſion to Dundee, where he ſtayed ſix or eight days; here ſhe was alſo publicly received, and he celebrated, Aug. 5, while he remained in the town, the marriage of the Earl of Errol with the eldeſt ſiſter of the Earl of Lenox, honoring the ceremony with his preſence, at which alſo were the Archbiſhops of Glaſgow and Caithneſs; and as this union had been propoſed by him, he omitted nothing that could render it magnificent: the laſt place the royal pair viſited was St. Johnſton, and here all vied in ſhewing their dutiful attachment to them. The manner in which the Queen was every where received muſt have been extremely flattering, and proves that the Scots were greatly pleaſed with the alliance, and with her perſon. She was not crowned until ſhe had recovered her firſt lying-in, when that ceremony was performed in February, 1539, in the Abbey church of Holy-Rood, the crown being ſet upon her head by Beaton. She was appointed Regent during the minority of the only ſurviving child ſhe had by K. James, the ill-fated Mary; but as ſhe was, at her ſecond huſband's death, in the prime of life, ſhe was not inſenſible to love; the Earl of Lenox, whom the late King had intended to have declared heir preſumptive to the crown of Scotland, by reſtoring her to the Regency, of which the Hamiltons, his rivals in power, had deprived her, ſeemed to have had a claim to her affections; he was alſo patronized by the court of France; but what ſtill farther tended to make her liſten to him was, he was alſo young, handſome, and braved the boldeſt; excelled in all martial exerciſes, and yet his manners were gentle; he was as conſpicuous

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for grace in the drawing room, as for his proweſs in the field; and ſhe was ſo rich a prize, that he exerted all his powers to pleaſe, becauſe he would, during a long minority, have had all the real authority of the kingdom in his hands, and by having the diſpoſal of the young Queen, it would make both England and France court him, ſo that nothing would have been able to oppoſe his government; and in caſe the throne became vacant he would have had great advantages in purſuing his claim againſt the houſe of Hamilton; ſeduced by ſuch temptations he ſought with avidity the alliance with the widowed Queen; but the court of France having by him effected their purpoſe in reinſtating her majeſty in the regency, firſt raiſed up the Earl of Bothwell * as his rival, a youth almoſt his equal in every reſpect, and who ſtrove to outdo him in dancing, at the barriers, and in every thing in which Lenox excelled; and he ſucceeded ſo well, that at length he drove him from court; but the diſappointed lover did not bear this with compoſure; he raiſed forces to take revenge, but the Queen-mother renouncing her engagements, and uniting with the Hamiltons, he was obliged to ſeek an aſylum in England, where Henry VIII. received him graciouſly, and gave him his niece, the young and blooming Margaret, the daughter of his ſiſter, a former dowager of Scotland, by a ſecond marriage, as has been already noticed. Mary of Guize would have been extremely beloved, had ſhe not liſtened to the intereſted advice of the Princes, her brothers, whoſe ambition and turbulence was unbounded, for ſhe had an enlarged underſtanding, and moſt elevated ſentiments, a bewitching form, adorned with elegant and engaging manners; ſhe ſaw her error when too late, and died lamenting it: to write the hiſtory of the remainder of her life, would be to give that of Scotland during many and turbulent years, in which the great ſtruggle of religious liberty was equally conteſted by the Romaniſts and reformed with a violence that diſgraced both; and at length a ſyſtem of ſuperſtition gave way to narrow fanatical bigotry,

* Patrick 4th, Earl of Bothwell, afterwards married his couſin Agnes, daughter of Henry Lord Sinclair, by whom he had James, Earl of Bothwell, the huſband of Mary, Queen of Scotland, and one daughter.

and the tyranny of one was uſurped under a different form by the other. In her return from France ſhe aſked, and obtained, a "ſafe con-"duct" if ſhe ſhould be driven upon the Engliſh coaſt; but how rude muſt be an age that wanted ſuch a ſecurity for a lady and her attendants*; happily ſhe had the precaution, for October 22, 1550, a tempeſt drove her to Portſmouth; ſhe came from thence the 23rd to Mr. White's houſe, diſpatching meſſengers to the young King, Edward VI., to claim protection, who behaved with that attention to her, which her high rank demanded, though ſhe had refuſed to accept him for a ſon-in-law. As the relation is taken chiefly from his Majeſty's manuſcript, it will be pleaſing no doubt to many readers: upon the 28th ſhe arrived at Sir Richard Cotton's; 29th dined at the Earl of Arundel's; went from thence to Mr. Brown's, where ſhe was received by the gentlemen of Suſſex, who convoyed her the next day to Guildford, where Lord William Howard and the gentlemen of Surry met her, who conducted her on the 30th to Hampton-court; two miles and a half from thence in a valley ſhe was received by the Marquis of Northampton, with ſeveral other noblemen, knights, and gentlemen, "beſides all the gen-"tlemen penſioners, men of arms, and uſhers, ſewers, and carvers, "to the number of 120 gentlemen." The Marchioneſs of North-ampton and the Counteſs of Pembroke, with ſixty other ladies and gentlewomen, met her at the gate of the palace, who led her to the Queen's ſide, which was all hanged with arras, as was the hall; and all the other royal apartments were "finely dreſſed;" the whole of that night, and the next day, was ſpent in dancing and paſtime, as though it were a court, and a great preſence of gentlewomen reſorted thither. November 1, ſhe examined the whole of the palace in which ſhe was lodged, and ſaw ſome courſing of deer; the 2nd ſhe came to, and ſlept, in the palace of the Biſhop of London with

* King Edward VI. and his council ordered that if ſhe landed in any part of England or Ireland, ſhe and her attendants ſhould have leave to refreſh themſelves for a few days.

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all her train about her *; the 3rd the Duke of Suffolk, the Earls of Warwick and Wiltſhire, with many other lords and gentlemen "brought a meſſage from his Majeſty to welcome her,—to aſk if "ſhe had every thing convenient,—and that the King would wait "upon her the following day:" the 4th the Duke of Suffolk, with other noblemen and gentlemen, with many ladies of the higheſt rank, and ſome that were of the blood royal, as the Ducheſs of Suffolk, the Lady Jane Gray, her daughter, the Lady Margaret, Counteſs of Lenox, with 100 other ladies and gentlewomen, went to her Majeſty, and brought her in her chariot through London to Weſtminſter. At the gate ſhe was received by the Duke of Northumberland, Great Maſter, and the Treaſurer, Comptroller, and the Earl of Pembroke, with all the ſewers, carvers, and cup bearers, to the number of thirty. In the hall his Majeſty, with the Lords of his Council, met her, the Duke of Northumberland bearing the ſword of ſtate before the King. Stow and Holingſhed ſay that Mary kneeled down when ſhe firſt ſaw the King, and that he took her up and kiſſed her: but Edward does not mention theſe circumſtances, any more than his ſaluting all the Scotch ladies, when he left the Queen and them before dinner: from the outer gate up to the preſence chamber on both ſides ſtood the guard; the court, the hall, and the ſtairs, were full of ſerving men; the preſence chamber, great chamber, and her majeſty's preſence chamber of gentlemen: the King having conducted the Queen to her chamber, retired to his own: Edward dined in hers; ſhe ſat under the ſame cloth of ſtate on his left hand; at her "re-reward" ſat his couſins Francis and Margaret; at his the French Ambaſſador. "We were ſerved," ſays the King, "by two ſervices, two ſewers, cup bearers, "carvers, and gentlemen. Her maſter Hoſtill came before her "ſervice, and my officers before mine. There were two cup-"boards, one of gold, four ſtages high; another of maſſy ſilver, "ſix ſtages; in her great chamber dined at three boards the ladies

* The Chamberlain of London ſent the Queen a preſent, conſiſting of "beeves, "muttons, veals, ſwans, and other poultry meats, with bread, fuel, wine, beer, "wax, &c."

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" only. After dinner, when ſhe had heard ſome muſic, I brought her to the hall, and ſo ſhe went away." Stow ſays, " After dinner the King ſhewed the Queen his galleries, gardens, &c.; and about four of the clock he brought her down by the hand into the hall, where he kiſſed her, and ſo ſhe departed to the Biſhop's palace as afore." On the 6th the Duke of Northumberland, the Lord Treaſurer, the Marquis of Northampton, Lord Privy Seal, and ſeveral others, went to pay her their reſpects, and to deliver a ring with a diamond, and " two nags," as a token from his Majeſty: on the ſame day the Duke of Northumberland, with his band of 100 men on horſeback with javelins, of which 40 were gentlemen in black velvet coats, garded with white *, and hats of black velvet with white feathers, and chains of gold round their necks,—the other 60 were in coats of cloth; the Earl of Pembroke, with his band, conſiſting of 120 men well appointed, alſo with black javelins, and hats and feathers; the Earl of Wiltſhire, Lord Treaſurer, with 100 gentlemen and yeomen †, with javelins in like manner, well apparelled;—which three companies of horſemen lined the ſtreets on each ſide from the Croſs in Cheapſide to Birchin Lane end; theſe, with all the penſioners, men of arms, and the country, with many ladies, as the King's couſin Margaret, the Ducheſſes of Richmond and Northumberland, conducted her majeſty through Cheapſide and Cornhill to Shoreditch Church, where they took their leave; one hundred gentlemen of Middleſex, with the Sheriffs of London, having been deputed to eſcort her majeſty to Waltham, where ſhe lodged that night; and ſo ſhe was conveyed out of the kingdom, a like number of gentlemen in every county receiving and conducting her in the ſame manner, until ſhe came to the borders of Scotland; all the expence of eating and drinking for the Queen and her train, with the proviſions provided for the horſes, being defrayed by Edward, according to Holinſhed; but Stow ſays, at the charges of each ſhire ſhe paſſed through. It is

* King Edward ſays with " white and black ſleeves."

† The Earl of Wiltſhire with 58 of his father's band, King Edward.

PART VIII. Mary, ſecond Queen of King James V.

ſingular neither of King Edward's ſiſters, Mary or Elizabeth, paid their reſpects to the Queen, whilſt ſhe was in England. Was it the jealouſy of Northumberland, or becauſe they would not yield precedency to a princeſs who, though the Dowager of Scotland, was very inferior to them in birth? This amiable queen died in the Caſtle of Edinburgh, July 10, 1560, of a complication of diſorders terminating in a dropſy, partly occaſioned, it may be preſumed, by the diſtractions of the kingdom. A ſhort time before her death ſhe ſhed tears in torrents, bitterly bewailing the laſt years of her adminiſtration, in yielding to the ſelfiſh ambition of her brothers, the Princes of Guize: ſhe forgave and requeſted forgiveneſs of all around her, intreating them to be obedient to her daughter, their ſovereign, and to unite in freeing Scotland from the forces of both England and France; after which ſhe took an affectionate leave of each, and received the conſolations of religion from Mr. Willocks, a proteſtant miniſter, whoſe piety and moderation had before recommended him to her; ſhe paſſed with a decent fortitude into the realms of peace, entirely lamented by her friends, and admired even by her enemies. It is thought ſhe left in her own hand writing a journal of the tranſactions in Scotland, with the characters of the principal perſons in the kingdom, for the uſe of the Queen, her daughter. Her body was, at her own deſire, carried over into France for interment; it was firſt taken to a monaſtery in Normandy, but was afterwards removed to the church of St. Peter in Rheims, of which her ſiſter Renée was abbeſs. Mr. Granger mentions two engravings of her, one inſcribed "Mary, &c. Queen of Scotland, a ſmall oval belonging to the ſet of Scottiſh Kings;" the other "Marie de Lorraine; "Vander Werff p., P. a Gunſt ſc. in Larrey's Hiſtory." He alſo ſays there is a portrait of her at Newbottle, a ſeat of the Marquis of Lothian, a few miles diſtant from Edinburgh: Mr. Pennant ſpeaking of it ſays, "ſhe is no leſs beautiful than her daughter." There is lately engraved a moſt elegant portrait of "Mary of Guiſe," from a painting in the poſſeſſion of the Duke of Devonſhire. Harding del.

Children of K. James V. and Queen Mary.

Iſſue of King James V. by Queen Mary.

James, Prince of Scotland, and Duke of Rothſay.

1. James, born at St. Andrews, 1539, where he died three years afterwards; the Archbiſhop of that ſee, the Earl of Arran, and the Queen Dowager, were his ſponſors at baptiſm: he was ſtiled Prince of Scotland, and created Duke of Rothſay. He was buried in the abbey church of the Holyrood in Edinburgh.

Arthur, Duke of Albany.

2. Arthur, born at Sterling and baptiſed in the chapel of that caſtle; in this place he alſo died on the ſame, or the following day, that his brother James did. He had been created Duke of Albany, Earl of Fife and Monteith. The death of theſe children was the greateſt affliction to their father, who had been troubled with melancholy dreams after he had put Sir James Hamilton to death; and from the lively impreſſion they made upon his imagination, he believed them viſions, eſpecially as Sir James, he thought, once came, and having cut off one arm and then the other, declared he would ſoon come again and take away his life alſo; theſe, his only ſons, dying almoſt at the ſame time, though ſo diſtant from each other, confirmed James in the idea that there was ſomething preternatural relative to what his mind had painted to his affrighted ſenſes: cruelty and ſuperſtition often unite in the ſame character.

Mary, afterwards Queen of Scots.

3. Mary, who became Queen of Scotland, and whoſe hiſtory is ſo well known for her beauty, accompliſhments, and unparalleled misfortunes.

Miſtreſſes and natural Children of K. James V.

Miſtreſſes, and the illegitimate iſſue of King James V.

K. James V. had many miſtreſſes; Weir, Sandilands, and Oliphant, are noticed in the anecdotes and ballads of his reign; and if, ſays Mr. Guthrie, the poem of his, called the Gaberlunzie Man,

PART VIII. Miſtreſſes, and the illegitimate iſſue of King James V.

is true, the adventure it relates, proves the King was not very delicate in his amours, or in the means of purſuing them. As James was greatly addicted to gallantry, it is wonderful we have ſo few of his illegitimate offspring mentioned; for there can be little doubt but that he had ſeveral more than the four given below; perhaps the meanneſs of their mothers might occaſion his not publicly acknowledging them.

Margaret, daughter and ſiſter of Earls of Mar, the moſt celebrated miſtreſs of K. James V.

The moſt memorable of his miſtreſſes was Margaret, youngeſt daughter of John, and Siſter of another John, both Earls of Mar, Regents of Scotland, and to whom the perſons of the royal infants, Q. Mary and King James VI., were intruſted. She afterwards was married to Sir Robert Douglas, of Lochleven, who, in 1540, received grants of the baronies of Dalkeith and Kinroſs, with the caſtle and lake of Lochleven, with the baronies of Keilor, Lugton, Lang-Newton, &c., and which for his loyalty and valor he deſerved: he was killed in 1547, in the battle of Pinkie or Muſſelburgh, leaving by her three ſons and three daughters; 1. Sir William Douglas, of Lochleven, who had the care of guarding the unhappy Mary, Queen of Scots, in his caſtle, ſituated in the middle of the lake, at which time his mother reſided with him: ſhe was a proud imperious woman, and had then the baſeneſs to triumph over her ſovereign, boaſting that ſhe was the lawful wife of the King her father, and conſequently that her ſon was legitimate and legal heir to the crown, and that ſhe had uſurped his rights. Upon the decapitation of the Earl of Morton, the Regent, in 1588, he ſucceeded him in his hereditary honors, that nobleman leaving no lawful iſſue. 2. Robert, who by marrying the Counteſs of Buchan, became in her right a nobleman alſo. 3. Sir George, the gallant gentleman who obtained Queen Mary's eſcape from Lochleven, in 1567, won either by love, pity, or ambition,—perhaps from all, though any of them, or his duty as a loyal ſubject, had been ſufficient: he was living at leaſt ſo late as the year 1591, when King James VI. gave him the lands of Helenhill, Aſchiſheils, &c. 4. Eupheme married Patrick, Lord Lindſay, anceſtor of the Earls of

Crawford, one of the moſt inveterate and cruel enemies of Queen Mary. 5. Margaret, to Sir John Colville, of Erſter Wemyſs.— And 6. Catherine, to David Drury, of Drury. I have not ſeen the time of this lady's death; I have given this ſhort ſketch of her family to ſhew the relationſhip of perſons with her, and her children by King James V., as they make a moſt conſpicuous figure in the Scottiſh annals of this extraordinary period.

PART VIII.

Margaret, daughter and ſiſter of Earls of Mar, the moſt celebrated miſtreſs of K. James V.

1. James, her eldeſt ſon by K. James, remarkable alike for his abilities and vices, for his good and ill fortunes, muſt have been born about 1532; for in 1557, he was one of the attornies or procurators for Scotland, to ſhew the conſent of the ſtates to Queen Mary's marriage; at which time, I ſuppoſe, he muſt have been at leaſt twenty-five years of age. We have ſeen how much the younger branches of the royal family of Scotland were educated as eccleſiaſtics; K. James V. for the ſame cauſe, to check their ambition, alſo deſigned his natural ſons to be brought up to the church; he was complimented with the rich priory of St. Andrews, and moſt probably would have riſen to the cardinalate had the Roman catholic religion continued to have been the eſtabliſhed mode of faith; but the reformation having ſpread with great rapidity, he took the opportunity it preſented to renounce the religion he was brought up in, and as the church was ſtripped intirely of its revenue, and reduced to a poverty as great, as if chriſtianity, and not popery, had been proſcribed, it did not ſuit him any longer to retain the eccleſiaſtical profeſſion; he therefore ſeculariſed himſelf, but kept his preferment, which he affected, like the other abbots, to conſider as ſtill intitling them to a ſeat, as a baron of parliamant, and alſo the title of Lord James he had before enjoyed; his pretended zeal for the reformed tenets, with his nearneſs to the Queen in blood, gave him great advantages; and his ambition, by the premature death of the King of France, her firſt huſband, appears to have overcome every other ſentiment; but to hide his dangerous deſigns, he aſſumed an auſtere bluntneſs, bordering upon rudeneſs, deſpiſing in appearance all the grandeur and refinements that are ſo intereſting in a court;

James, Earl of Murray, regent of Scotland.

PART VIII. Illegitimate issue of King James V.

he ſeemed to be the devotee, and though he had thrown off the monk's cowl, ſtill to retain all that attachment for ſimplicity of manners and honeſt ſincerity that are no where more amiable than in the ſequeſtered cloiſters of a convent: his diſſimulation was ſome- time in revealing itſelf, but at length the maſk is moſt effectually removed, and all his vices are viſible; it is demonſtratively evident, that though he was deputed to invite the Queen, his ſiſter, over to her dominions, that he was at the ſame time treating with Queen Elizabeth to intercept her upon the ſea, and detain her in England, that he might have the entire command of Scotland; when ſhe eſ- caped this ſnare, he governed under her name; but ſhe was only his pupil, whom he treated with harſhneſs, and ruled with deſpotic power; and no ſooner did he ſee that ſhe deſigned to marry, than he conſpired with the elegant, but depraved, Lethington, and the ſevere and inflexible Morton, to ſurpriſe Darnley, whom ſhe had fixed her affections upon, and deliver him up to Elizabeth, dethrone his ſiſter, and doom her to Lochleven, to remain in that caſtle a priſoner for life, and to place the diadem he meant to wreſt from her brows upon his own head: ſo early had this diſſembling hypocrite fixed his eyes upon the regal honors; it was for this reaſon that Knox exclaimed againſt the unfitneſs of women to govern: to effect this project Buchanan afterwards wrote a dialogue "De jure regni a- "pud Scotos," to prove that the people had a right to elect whom they thought moſt proper to hold their ſceptre: the deſign was not without a precedent; Portugal and Caſtile and given their crowns to the ille- gitimate offſpring of their ancient ſovereigns; the ferocious chiefs of Scotland thought themſelves diſgraced by being commanded by a lady; the puritan calviniſts with horror beheld a Roman Catholic upon the throne; and Elizabeth, from inclination and policy, wiſhed to ſee Mary diſgraced. France, the ancient ally, was go- verned by the cruel and unrelenting Catherine de Medici, who wiſhed for nothing more eagerly than to ſee the humiliation of one, whoſe power ſhe had felt, and whoſe beauty ſhe envied. When Mary obtained her wiſh in uniting herſelf to Henry, and ſhe ſeemed more than likely to cut off all his ambition by giving an heir to

Illegitimate iſſue of King James V.

ſucceed her, he planned, and though then in baniſhment in England, ſucceeded with his infamous partizans to perform ſo tragic a ſcene in her preſence, as would, it might have been ſuppoſed, deſtroy both the mother and the infant; for the conſpirators ruſhing into the apartment of the pregnant Queen ſeized Rizzio, and ſtabbed him in her preſence, manacing her life alſo; and had ſhe not eſcaped from the confinement in which they held her, perhaps ſhe then had loſt her crown; yet ſo artful was this ambitious brother, that it procured him his recal from baniſhment, which he made uſe of to reconcile the abuſed Queen with the traitors, that they might the better carry on their criminal projects; and which they endeavored to effect by taking the advantage of the miſunderſtanding of the King and Queen, by propoſing to the latter to rid her of a huſband unworthy of her; but finding it would not be accepted, and that returning affection would diſapoint their machinations, they conſpired to aſſaſſinate the King; but ſtill to blind the public, he the day preceding the tragedy aſked and obtained leave to retire, under pretence to viſit his wife, who, he ſaid, was unwell; not content with this nefarious wickedneſs, he procured a bond of aſſociation, recommending Bothwell, whom he had made the inſtrument and dupe to effect the murder of the King, as the moſt proper to marry the Queen: this inſtrument he ſigned firſt himſelf, as did moſt of the great ſubjects of Scotland; and then with his compeers, Lethington and Morton, planned the deſtruction of the Queen, firſt obtaining her conſent to retire into France *, whilſt the others raiſed an army under pretence of ſeparating Bothwell from the Queen; but when ſhe gave herſelf up to the confederates under a promiſe of duty and ſubmiſſion, and had ſent off her moſt worthleſs huſband,

* Murray obtained Queen Mary's leave to travel through England in his way to France, to which kingdom he ſet out April 9, 1567, and took that opportunity of poiſoning the ear of Elizabeth by telling her of the intended marriage between his ſiſter and Bothwell, the murderer of her former huſband, but omitted to mention that it was of his own planning, and that he had ſigned the bond recommending it. Elizabeth took the bait, and had honor enough to forewarn Mary of the ill conſequences of ſuch a marriage.

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as if forgetting their own declaration, they permitted the culprit to eſcape, depoſed Mary, loading her with every epithet that the moſt abandoned ſcarce deſerve, throwing upon her that murder which they had perpetrated, and gave as a proof her marrying Bothwell, whom they had ſeduced to perſonally commit it, and though his marriage was by their own recommendation. The unhappy Mary was ſent into Lochleven, under the care of his maternal brother and that of their common mother; the regency was voted to him, if he would accept it, and which he was requeſted to take upon himſelf, by an embaſſy ſent into France; with a ſeeming reluctance he aſſumed what all his wickedneſs had contrived. The beauteous ſorrowing Mary, without one ſympathizing friend, degraded even in dreſs to abjectneſs, was ſo far from knowing from whom ſhe received all her miſeries, that when he came to Lochleven, ſhe threw herſelf into his arms with all the affection of a ſiſter, all the ardor of friendſhip; the monſter, who came not to ſooth the diſtreſs he had effected, but to triumph over her fallen eſtate, rudely repulſed her, upbraided her in the coarſeſt language, and, regardleſs of her ſtreaming eyes, only promiſed to intercede for her life; the modeſt requeſt of a medical perſon, two female attendants, change to a more healthy place, and to take care of, at leaſt, ſome of her jewels, was ſlighted; and he left the dethroned ſovereign, ſternly recommending it to her not to attempt an eſcape, as it might involve her in inſtant deſtruction; and having ſeized upon all the magnificent furniture, rich jewels, and coſtly plate, he uſed the one, and the others he diſpoſed of, or melted down to convert it into ſpecie, the better to ſecure himſelf in his uſurpation: and when Mary eſcaped, he headed an army againſt her, paid with her own money, and drove her into England to ſue for mercy from an enemy no leſs bitter againſt her than himſelf; to pay court to whom he ſurrendered up the independency of his native kingdom, and ſubmitted to be an abject ſlave to the caprice of an imperious queen, though he had involved himſelf in ſo many crimes, that he might not ſubmit to the mild ſway of a ſiſter: and as if her cup was not yet full, he cauſed to be forged infamous writings tending to

blacken, to blaſt her character, by exhibiting her as both an adultreſs and murderer; and when the Duke of Norfolk, unſuſpecting the wickedneſs of his character, had made him the confidant of his paſſion for the dethroned Queen, he betrayed him to his ſovereign, which coſt that amiable peer his head: there wanted only one project more to complete the infamy of his character, and that was to deſtroy the infant King; but he was reſtrained from this only, I think, becauſe he had no ſon to have ſucceeded to the crown, could he have obtained it for himſelf. Theſe are facts, the proofs of which are ſo well authenticated, that no future writer, I muſt ſuppoſe, will ever contradict; happily few ſuch inſtances of depravity ſtain the hiſtoric page, though recording the events of the moſt barbarous periods, or of the rudeſt countries; but every nation has had its monſters. In Scotland Murray may juſtly claim precedency for his uniform wickedneſs to the beſt and tendereſt of ſiſters, who ſeemed by her love to have forgotten the ſtain of his birth; for, with a liberality that neither her dominions nor her revenue could authorize, ſhe gave him an income of not leſs than 26,000l. per ann. a princely ſum at that time; beſides, Feb. 1, 1512, ſhe conferred upon him the Earldom of Mar, though by it ſhe diſpleaſed one of her greateſt and moſt truſty peers; and when his maternal uncle, Lord Erſkine, laid ſome claim to Mar, ſhe exchanged it for that of Murray; ſo that greater obligations ſhe could not have conferred upon him as a ſubject, nor could he have been more ungrateful; perhaps, had he been dutiful and complying, he had always been her miniſter, and diſpoſer of all her favors; had ſhe been ſuſpicious, ſhe never would have truſted him with any power; had ſhe been ſevere, ſhe would have capitally puniſhed his firſt demerits, by which ſhe might have prevented her own ruin, and him the commiſſion of many crimes. Mary certainly wanted penetration. When Murray found himſelf poſſeſſed of the firſt place in the ſtate, that diſſimulation which had marked his whole life he found uſeleſs and troubleſome; he became luxurious, prodigal to his favorites and minions, tyrannic and cruel to his enemies and oppoſers; the barbarity that drew on him deſtruction was truly infernal.

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James Hamilton, of Bothwelhaugh, who, for eſpouſing the cauſe of Queen Mary at the battle of Langſide, though pardoned as to life and liberty, forfeited all his eſtates; his wife, the heireſs of Woodhouſie, retired thither, as to a ſure aſylum, from the rapacity of the all-powerful vindictive Regent; but his minion, Sir James Ballenden, ſent his ſervant to put him into poſſeſſion of what the Regent had given him a grant of; who, unmindful of every principle of humanity, not content to ſimply ſend away the unhappy lady, ſtripped her naked, and turned her out of the houſe, though the night was cold and dark; the morning diſcovered the wretched outcaſt; but terror, aided by the inclemency of the weather, had deprived her of her ſenſes, which never returned; yet when Murray was informed of the cruelty of Ballenden, ſo far from puniſhing a wickedneſs that diſgraced his adminiſtration, he only treated it as a jeſt; as he did even thoſe threats of juſt vengeance that the injured huſband vowed to take upon him, as if not the author, the approver. Hamilton, true to his purpoſe, finding that his enemy was to paſs through the high ſtreet of Linlithgow, in his way from Sterling to Edinburgh, acted with a ſteadineſs, preſence of mind, and precaution, that would have exalted his character in the annals of Greece, as by it he freed his country from a uſurping traitor, and puniſhed the man who had violated every law to injure him; for hiring a houſe belonging to the Archbiſhop of St. Andrews, in which was a wooden gallery, that fronted the ſtreet, he placed a large feather-bed upon the floor, that his feet might not be heard as he walked backwards and forwards; and oppoſite to the windows on the inſide of the room, he hung up ſome black clothes to conceal his ſhadow; he cut a ſmall hole with his knife a little below the lattice, juſt large enough to receive his fuſee; and to prevent any impediment to his eſcape, after he had completed his purpoſe, as the door was too low to admit a man on horſeback, with the aſſiſtance of his ſervant he removed the lintel, and kept his horſe in the ſtable ready bridled and ſaddled; the Regent, as if regardleſs of danger, though he had been adviſed of Hamilton being in the town, moved ſlowly along, the common people thronging around him, obſtructed him much; but as it happened, he ſtop-

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ped juſt before the place where his aſſaſſin waited for him, who lodged a ſingle bullet in his body; and though immediately purſued, effected his eſcape to the palace of Hamilton by the fleetneſs of the horſe the Abbot of Arbroth had procured him, and coming to the coaſt paſſed over into France, where he long reſided, and his ſtory being known, he was offered a reward to kill Admiral Coligny; but, though a Roman Catholic, he ſpurned the propoſition, ſaying, "No, unleſs Admiral Coligny had injured me as highly as Murray "did." Though the wound was not judged mortal, yet the Regent, finding his pains increaſe, prepared himſelf for death, and in a few hours he expired, after a government of only two years and five months. Thus fell the criminally-ambitious James Stuart, Earl of Murray, Regent of Scotland, Jan. 23, 1570, in the prime of his life, lamented by Elizabeth, Queen of England; and even the tender-hearted Mary, whom he had ſo cruelly injured, ſhed ſome tears at his premature death. Knox and the other zealots mourned for him as their friend and protector, though they ought to have thought a union with him a ſtigma upon their characters: from theſe he had the epithet of "the gude or godly "Regent;" but in general the Scots hated and ſhunned a man whoſe vices became every day more viſible, though he had ſo long hid them under the maſk of a mortified countenance, affecting the gloomineſs of a monk; practiſing the auſterities of the order he had deſerted in his houſehold, and lending a patient attention to the enthuſiaſtic rhapſodies of the moſt violent of the calviniſtical preachers. Like moſt other uſurpers, he ſuffered few others to injure the public; where his own intereſt did not prevail, juſtice was impartially adminiſtered. He was more artful than wiſe, more cunning than prudent: he ſhone only as the head of a faction: he was incapable of combining contending intereſts, and directing them to one common public good: in all the virtues of the heart he was totally deficient: he ſeemed a ſingle individual, whoſe intereſt alone he was to promote at the expence of duty and affection, of honor and honeſty: he won no friends but the partners of his crimes, the clergy, whom he made the dupes of his ambitious

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projects; and the learned, whom he purchaſed to praiſe him at the expence of truth. Buchanan and Lethington, the two fineſt geniuſes Scotland then could boaſt of, were partakers in all his forgeries; he debaſed his public character by permitting the moſt fulſome flatteries. The fruit of all his crimes was to be, at beſt, only the viceroy of the imperious Elizabeth, who, ordering him into her preſence, treated him with a haughtineſs a diſgraced vaſſal would have felt degrading; and to ſhare even this precarious power with his aſſociates, Morton and Lethington. Had he been dutiful and loyal, he might have preſerved the crown upon the head of his ſiſter, and in his old age perhaps have ſeen her ſovereign of Britain; gratitude would have ſecured her affectionate eſteem; and under her he might have enjoyed, unmoleſted, the higheſt honors, and the moſt ample eſtates; happy in an internal rectitude, and the united kingdoms would have hailed him their beſt patriot, and poſterity have revered, as much as they execrate his memory. He married Agnes, daughter of William, Earl Mariſhal; the ceremony was publicly performed Feb. 10, 1560-1, in the Abbey church of the Holyrood, when nine gentlemen of Fife received the honor of knighthood; and maſks, with other ſplendid entertainments, were given; vanity and exceſſive joy overcame his prudence; for ſome, who knew his character, thought it too magnificent for a ſubject; the Calviniſts were ſhocked at his countenancing amuſements they judged profane; and the Romaniſts looked with horror on his thus breaking through the vow of celibacy which he had taken. He left by his lady two daughters, Elizabeth, married to James, Lord Down, whoſe deſcendants inherit his title of Murray; and Margaret to Francis, Earl of Errol.

John, Abbot of Coldingham.

2. John had the abbey of Coldingham given him; but conforming to the Proteſtant faith, he obtained its poſſeſſions to be ſecularized, and retained them as a lay fief. He was more obſequious than any of the natural brothers of Q. Mary; and it was owing to this, that he was better beloved by her than either of the others. In 1563 they were all three diſpatched to Inverneſs to preſerve the

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tranquillity of the northern counties, at which time he died unlamented; yet Q. Elizabeth did not fail to condole with his ſiſter upon his death. Lord John married, Jan. 1, 1561-2, Jean, daughtor of Patrick, fourth Earl, and ſiſter to James, the fifth Earl of Bothwell, afterwards huſband to the Queen; Mary honored the ceremony with her preſence in Seaton. The iſſue of this marriage was Francis and John; Francis, the eldeſt ſon, was raiſed to the dignity of Earl of Bothwell, and Lord High Admiral of Scotland, by K. James VI. who conferred upon him many other marks of his favor, and gave him extenſive poſſeſſions, but falling under the diſpleaſure of that ſovereign's chancellor, Maitland, he accuſed him of witchcraft, and put him in the caſtle of Edinburgh; eſcaping from thence, to revenge the affront, he attempted in the night to ſurprize Maitland in Holyrood Houſe, regardleſs of the preſence of the King; failing in his attempt, he eſcaped, firſt to Bute, and from thence into England; having obtained his pardon, he returned, and was again taken into favor; but falling into ſome dangerous deſigns, (it was ſuppoſed to ſurprize and deliver up K. James to Q. Elizabeth) he was deſervedly attainted, yet in 1594 he again had the addreſs to eſcape into England; but finding no hopes of being received into his native country, he went into France, afterwards into Spain, and died in Italy in 1624, in diſtreſsful circumſtances. He had conſiderable abilities, was beloved by the people, and regarded with a favorable eye by Ann, the Queen of K. James. By Margaret, daughter of David, Earl of Angus, and widow of Walter Scot, of Buccleugh, Eſq. he had Francis; John, Commendator of Coldingham; Henry, who alſo had the ſame Barony granted to him: Elizabeth, married to James, father of William, Lord Cranſtone; Margaret, to Alan, Lord Cathcart; and Helen, to John Macfarlane, of the place of that name, Eſq. Francis, the eldeſt ſon of the Earl of Bothwell, was reſtored to that title in the ſame year as his father died, and married Iſabel, daughter of Robert, Earl of Winton, and relict of James, firſt Earl of Perth, but as we know nothing more of him, or any other male deſcend-

PART VIII. ant of the first nobleman, we must conclude that the male line was extinct in him and his brothers.

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Robert, Earl of Orkney and Zetland.

3. Robert, stiled of Strathdon, but called generally Lord Robert, had given him, in 1564, the command of the gens d'armes by Catherine de Medici, and obtained from Q. Mary, his sister, the lands of Orkney and Zetland in 1565, and which K. James VI. created into an Earldom; the patent of creation is dated Oct. 28, 1581, in which and the following year he had a charter of confirmation, and a farther grant of the adjacent isles, and also that of Cama, &c. He was a character by no means great, but he was loyal to his sister; fond of gallantry and dissipation, and was at first in all her parties of pleasure; had entered warmly into her favorite project of an union with Lord Darnley, who, together with Rizzio, for some time guided the whole court. A very weak triumvirate! After the marriage he still appears to have been in the royal favor; but having said that K. Henry's life was in danger, the Queen, the next time he came into her presence, asked what foundation he had to suppose so; knowing how little he could trust his Majesty, and the danger he run in displeasing the powerful party that sought Henry's destruction, he contradicted what he had in confidence told that rash, unguarded, simple Prince; the enraged King replied to this, that "he lied," and each drew his short sword, unawed by the Queen; and had they not been separated, some instant mischief would have ensued. Had Henry listened with attention, and been circumspect, the intelligence might have prevented the fatal catastrophe that soon after occasioned his death; and proves that Robert had discernment to see, and honesty to forewarn the King of the danger he was in. By a daughter of Gilbert, Earl of Cassilis, he had four sons and four daughters. 1. Patrick, of whom below; 2. John, created Lord Kincleven in 1607 by K. James VI. and Earl of Carric by K. Charles I. in 1633; his Lordship died in 1652, leaving by Elizabeth, daughter of Charles, Earl of Nottingham, Margaret, his only child, who, by Sir Matthew Mennes, K. B. had an heiress, Margaret, married to Sir John Heath, of Brayftade,

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in Kent, Knt. whoſe only child, named Margaret likewiſe, married George, Lord Willoughby de Brook, which family may claim the titles of Kincleven and Carric, if they are not male fiefs. 3. Sir James Stuart, Knt. a gentleman of the bedchamber to K. James VI.; he died without iſſue. 4. Sir Robert Stuart, who obtained from K. James VI. in 1600, a grant of lands. 5. Mary, married to Patrick, Lord Gray. 6. Jean, to Patrick, Lord Lindores. 7. Elizabeth, to Sir James Sinclair, of Murthel, anceſtor to the Earl of Caithneſs. And, 8. Barbara, to —— Halcro, of a place ſo called in South Ronaldſay, one of the Orkneys. Patrick, the ſecond Earl of Orkney, had a confirmation of the poſſeſſions of his family; but diſgracing himſelf by very great oppreſſion and open rebellion, he finiſhed his life, February 6, 1614, upon a ſcaffold in Edinburgh; and at the ſame time his natural ſon was hanged. By his Counteſs, the daughter of Lord Levingſton, he had no iſſue.

Jean, Counteſs of Argyle.

4. Jean; ſhe was much beloved by Q. Mary, who admitted her to her privacy and retirement; and ſhe was one of the ſelect few that were with her Majeſty when Rizzio was murdered; ſhe, like her more wretched ſiſter, was unhappy in her marriage; Archibald, Earl of Argyle, was only prevented divorcing her from dread of her brother's power: her early death gave him the liberty of taking another wife; but by neither of them had he any iſſue. So much reſpect was paid this lady, that her body was depoſited in the royal vault in Holyrood Abbey church, near that of her father.

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Mary, Queen of Scotland.

MARY, ſole ſurviving child of K. James V. was born in the palace of Linlithgow Dec. 8, 1542; and a few days afterwards ſucceeded to the crown of Scotland; her extraordinary beauty, accompliſhments, indiſcretions, and misfortunes, have engaged the pens of the hiſtorians of each ſucceeding generation, and never more than the preſent; who have ſtriven to vindicate her memory from the aſperſions caſt upon it by her enemies; a combination of diſaſtrous circumſtances have obſcured the amiable qualities ſhe really poſſeſſed. Had ſhe lived in any future period ſhe might have ſhone the conſtellation of the northern hemiſphere. To prevent "the rough courtſhip of England," it was determined to ſend her into France in 1548, under the protection of Villegagnon, who, to avoid any ſurprizal, pretended to ſet ſail again to France with his four gallies, but turning northwards he cleared the Orkneys, and ſailed immediately to Dunbarton, whither the Queen had been brought by Lord Erſkine and Lord Levingſton, attended by her eldeſt natural brother, and many other noblemen and gentlemen of the higheſt conſequence; her female attendants were Lady Fleming, the maternal ſiſter of her father, and four young ladies of the name of Mary, of the family of Levingſton, Fleming, Seton, and Beaton *. Having received the Queen on board, ſhe was conſigned to the care of M. des Termes, who had been appointed for that purpoſe by the King of France; he landed with his important charge at Breſt, after having experienced ſome bad weather; ſhe

* At this time the maids of honor were called in Scotland "Maries," moſt probably, becauſe ladies of that Chriſtian name were ſelected in honor of Mary of Guiſe, and this Queen.

was conducted to Paris, and educated under the care of his Chriſtian Majeſty, by the moſt ſkilful maſters; and ſhe made ſo rapid a progreſs in all thoſe accompliſhments that were ſuitable to her high rank, that ſhe became the admiration of the Gallican court. December 14, 1557, ſhe was married to the Dauphin, who, by the death of his father, became King of France July 8, 1559; but his ſickly delicate conſtitution gave way to fate Dec. 4, in the following year, a misfortune for ever deplored by Mary, who immediately felt the power of the exaſperated Catherine de Medici, whom, in her huſband's reign, ſhe had ſo far eclipſed in authority: to avoid the mortifications and deſertions ſhe hourly experienced, ſhe left the capital and retired to Jonville, a ſeat of the Duke of Guiſe, and from thence to Nantz, to viſit the Duke of Lorrain; after which ſhe went to Rheims. The Scots invited her to return amongſt them; the Queen-mother was anxious to have her leave France; her maternal uncles were no longer in power; a cruel deſtiny demanded her retiring from a kingdom ſhe ſo ardently loved, and at length ſhe yielded to the ſad neceſſity; the Queen-mother, however, to ſoften in ſome meaſure the mortification, affected to pay her daughter all imaginable honor. July 21, 1561, ſhe left Paris, whither ſhe had come to adjuſt ſome private concerns, attended by the Kings of France and Navarre, the Queen Regent, the Duke of Anjou (afterwards K. Henry III.) and the flower of the French nobility, who all accompanied her to St. Germains, where the Royal family took their leave of her; but her ſix uncles, the Duke of Guiſe, Cardinals of Lorrain and Guiſe, the Duke d'Aumale, Marquis d'Elbeuf, the Grand Prior, who was Admiral of France, and other great noblemen, went in her train to Calais, where waited two gallies, which had been intended to have been ſent to relieve Leith. About Auguſt 15 ſhe embarked on board one of them, and was attended by two other tranſports, one of which fell into the hands of the Engliſh; and as Q. Elizabeth would not grant a ſafe conduct, it is difficult to determine whether, had ſhe been captured, ſhe had ever been ſuffered to return to her dominions. We may ſuppoſe the grief of Mary at

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quitting the hoſpitable ſhores of France; for ſhe, with unwearied eyes, ſtill looked towards that court, and when no longer able to diſtinguiſh objects, ordered a couch to be put upon deck, with a deſire to be awakened when the ſun aroſe, that ſhe might take a final adieu of a kingdom ſhe ſo ſincerely loved; the ſatisfaction was not denied her, for the veſſel had made little way during the night, and in the morning her eyes were bleſſed with the wiſhed-for ſight; when the ſcene was dying away, ſhe repeatedly exclaimed, "Farewell, dear France! Farewell, enchanting country! I ſhall "never ſee you more!" the weather after this became foggy. She was landed ſafely at Leith Aug. 20, with three of her uncles, the Duke d'Aumale, the Grand Prior, and the Marquis d'Elbeuf; Marſhal d'Anville, ſon and heir of the Conſtable Montmorency, with other great ſubjects of France. The Earls of Huntley, Athol, Crawford, Mariſhal, Rothes, with other noblemen and perſons of diſtinction, received her majeſty, and attended her to her palace of Holyrood-Houſe; it was in vain to attempt to hide the poverty of her ſubjects, and the exchange ſhe had made; but the Scots did all they could, by making her public entry into her capital ſplendid; the mean bigotry of the Calviniſts here ſhewed itſelf, for amongſt the pageantry exhibited, was a mock altar erected for performing the ceremonies of the maſs, and upon it were burnt Corah, Dathan, and Abiram; and it was deſigned to have burnt a living Roman Catholic prieſt, to have made it more marked, but the Earl of Huntley, afterwards a profeſſed Romaniſt, had the addreſs to prevent ſo horrid an action.

What a change of ſituation was this to Mary! She had deſcended from the firſt throne in Europe; all its ſplendor, all its charms were loſt; inſtead of her native country and her hereditary ſubjects affording her ſatisfaction, the moſt unfortunate of her unhappy houſe, ſhe looked around her joyleſs and wretched; no hope to cheer, no joy to ſolace her: inſtead of the tender ſolicitude of a fond, a doting huſband, of affectionate relations, ſhe had no ſupport to lean upon but the auſtere, ſevere, and inflexible James, her natu-

ral brother, who ſecretly was forming projects to dethrone her, he condeſcended to be her preceptor, but expected implicit obedience, though, "according to his nature, he treated her rudely, homely, and bluntly." Inſtead of elegant refined nobles, who could feaſt upon her ſmiles, and whom a frown would have diſgraced, ſhe had ſtern, inflexible, rude deſpots, unaccuſtomed to a ſuperior, and who had often bid defiance to the power of their ſovereign, and not ſeldom treated their perſons with contempt; who unwillingly ſubmitted to any regal reſtraint, and looked upon the government of a female with indignation; this was owing to the wretched policy of the feudal ſyſtem, which was preſerved in all its original deformity in Scotland; to the ſmallneſs of the revenue of the crown; the long minorities of their kings; their affinity to the ſovereign, and the crown having ſeveral times deſcended into families of their own order. They dreaded Mary's preſence, becauſe it might be ſome check to their wild freedom; for, unawed either by religion, humanity, or civil polity, they led out their numerous dependants to execute a prompt and ſavage revenge againſt a neighbouring chieftain; and if their ſtrength was unequal to the premeditated deſtruction, they called forth others, as powerful and daring ſpirits as themſelves, and having ſigned a bond of aſſociation, they ſurpriſed and put the enemy to death with a cruelty that augmented the crime; marking too their paths with deſolation and ſlaughter: by ſuch it was deemed a meanneſs to appeal to the laws of their country to demand juſtice. Kircaldy, the moſt gallant man in Scotland, prided himſelf in aſſiſting in the aſſaſſination of Cardinal Beaton; and there were few whoſe hands were not literally ſtained with human gore. Inſtead of loyal and dutiful ſubjects, who looked with awful veneration to majeſty, ſhe ſaw a rude unpoliſhed people, ſlaves to their Lords; to heighten the picture, theſe rough ſons of the North were divided between the never-to-be reconciled religious opinions of Rome and her opponents. Scotland, though it had never been a rich kingdom, was yet famed for its munificent piety; but now, which way ſoever the eye was turned, all its holy fanes were ſmoking in ruins, as if an army of pagan

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ſavages had marched from one extremity of the kingdom to the other; meaſt ſlovenlineſs and wretched poverty appeared inſtead of the ſplendid worſhip and luxurious prieſthood of Rome; a vulgar illiterate ſet of men, fit only to have been the loweſt of the rudeſt orders of monks, ſucceeded, who, to make amends for the penury they had been doomed to by the ſacrilegious plunderers of the church, adopted the worſt and moſt dangerous uſurpations of the ancient hierarchy: inſtead of one, Scotland had as many popes as prieſts, who thundered out excommunications as loud and as tremendous as thoſe of the Vatican. Their imaginations, always occupied with thoſe dreadful examples of puniſhment mentioned in the hiſtory of the Jewiſh nation, dwelt upon the fate of Agag and Jezabel with ſo much energy, that it was obvious they would not have been diſpleaſed to have taken a vengeance as ſevere againſt their weeping Queen for profeſſing the religion of her anceſtors, which they deemed the moſt wicked idolatry; every decency was a relict of the "Beaſt;" every elegance was a rag of the "ſcarlet whore;" every accompliſhment that adds grace and dignity to human nature was, in their contracted minds, ſymptoms either of inſanity or of the moſt vicious and depraved diſpoſitions; though David danced and ſung to his harp, yet muſic and dancing in Mary's court were a conſtant ſubject of cruel invective; and even in the private chapel within the walls of her palace, the Queen was obliged to have a guard, that the people might not break in and offer up the officiating prieſt as an atonement to offended Heaven. In fine, Scotland was entirely changed from the days of her father and grandfather; inſtead of a well-regulated kingdom, all was anarchy and confuſion; religious bigotry ſpread itſelf throughout the land, an object of ſcorn to other nations; its trade loſt, its induſtry and wealth vaniſhed; deſerted and deſpiſed by its ancient and then natural ally; its nobility penſioners to their enemies; none of its former refined manners were viſible; even the palaces were plundered of every thing but their walls; and whilſt England was approaching faſt to civilization, the ſiſter kingdom was gone back a century into barbariſm. Mortified, yet not deſponding,

ſhe ſtrove to divert the keenneſs of recollection by the care ſhe took of the internal government of her kingdom, appointing three days in every week for expediting the cauſes of her poor ſubjects, augmenting, too, the ſalaries of the Judges, to compenſate for their extraordinary trouble; and ſhe often ſat in her courts of equity, to perſonally befriend the injured: ſhe ſigned inſtructions with her own hand, for the more ſpeedy adminiſtration of juſtice; particularly in thoſe courts that had been eſtabliſhed inſtead of the conſiſtorial ones of the Biſhops; and ſhe prided herſelf in following the plan that her father had been ſo much praiſed for, by going progreſſes into various parts of the kingdom, following at thoſe times, like him, the diverſions of the chace, except when ſhe purſued the malecontents, or ſtill more ferocious borderers; for then, armed with piſtols ſtuck in her girdle, ſhe flew with the rapidity of an eagle, and at once brought them to ſubmiſſion, or obliged them to ſeek an aſylum out of her dominions; ſo that at one and the ſame time ſhe made her perſon known to all her ſubjects, and cauſed her authority to be reſpected; teaching her rude retainers, that the ſovereign was far above the chieftains, and that obedience muſt be paid to the laws of their country. By theſe means ſhe gained much upon the paſſions and prejudices of the generality of her ſubjects; her moderation, eſpecially in religion, greatly accelerated this. At home ſhe became reſpectable; and though the vindictive Catherine guided the ſceptre in France, and England was ruled by the haughty Elizabeth, each of whom were profeſſedly her enemies, yet ſhe was an object of the greateſt attention and conſequence: Queen of Scotland, Dowager of France, and the generally reputed heir to the Engliſh crown; and, by the Roman Catholic powers, as having a better claim to it than Elizabeth, who wore it: theſe circumſtances made even that great Queen, as well as Catherine, court her friendſhip. Nothing is more true than that Europe offered Mary for her choice all her unmarried potentates, and Britain her moſt illuſtrious and moſt accompliſhed youths; but in compliance with the wiſhes of Elizabeth, and of the Scots, ſhe rejected the former, that ſhe might unite her deſtiny with one of the latter;

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and the perſonal charms and accompliſhments of Darnley fixed her inclination; but his exterior was deceitful; he had not a ſingle virtue to atone for his want of ſenſe and judgement; paſſion, however, for him, and reſentment to Elizabeth for ſo long playing with her feelings, made her loſe ſight of prudence, and precipitated her into ruin; for had ſhe weighed the matter with her former caution, ſhe muſt have been convinced of the danger of making him her huſband, from the many ſpecimens he, as well as his father, had given of their folly and raſhneſs. Murray, the artful Murray, her treacherous brother, whoſe eyes had conſtantly viewed the crown with envious deſire, could not ſubmit to be leſs than the firſt ſubject in the kingdom; nor could he bend to the capricious will of a ſtripling: deteſting her choice, diſappointed in glutting his revenge, all his former hatred to Mary returned, and with it all his ill-ſmothered criminal ambition; and he never reſted until, to gratify both, he firſt rendered her authority contemptible, and by conſpiring with Bothwell and others the death of Darnley, and by obtaining her ſubſequent marriage with his wicked aſſociate, and laſtly by throwing all the odium of Darnley's aſſaſſination upon her, did this infamous miniſter, and unprincipled brother, precipitate Mary from her throne to a priſon, and threw a ſtain of the blackeſt hue from his own to fix it upon her reputation; and which it has required more than two centuries to wipe off. It would take more than a volume to write at full length all the calamities that overwhelmed this moſt unfortunate, moſt injured Queen; the taſk would be equally unpleaſant to me and to the reader; I ſhall therefore only briefly ſtate here, that after the fatal cataſtrophe of her ſecond huſband, ſhe was depoſed by the confederated Peers, under pretence of puniſhing her for marrying the very perſon they had recommended to her, and this too though they had ſolemnly promiſed, if ſhe would ſurrender herſelf to them, and ſend Bothwell away, they would honor and reſpect her as highly as they or their anceſtors ever had any of her predeceſſors. The Queen put herſelf into the hands of her revolting nobles at Carberry Hill June 15, 1567, in ſight of both armies. After inſtigating the loweſt of the

people to inſult her with the moſt ſcandalous epithets, ſuch as are only uſed by, and to, the moſt abandoned of her ſex, they ſent her, in the meaneſt and moſt wretched dreſs they could procure, (a coarſe woollen caſſock) a priſoner to the caſtle of Lochleven, ſituated in the midſt of a lake, to be inſulted and ſcoffed at by the miſtreſs of her father, without a friend, or even an attendant to ſooth her piercing ſorrow; here threatened with, and expecting a public and ignominious death, ſhe reſigned, July 24, 1567, her crown in favor of her ſon, which heart-rending action ſhe the more readily complied with, from the perſuaſion of the Engliſh ambaſſador, who privately informed her, that as it was in priſon it muſt be adjudged compulſion, and conſequently void. After remaining in this dreary "forticle" until the month of May, ſhe won over to her intereſt a young gentleman, either by the power of her perſonal attractions, by inſpiring him with ambition, by promiſes of reward, or by compaſſion for her unparalleled misfortunes, and who ſafely conveyed her to the ſhore, where a party of her friends waited to receive her with the duty of loyal ſubjects, and who were deſirous to reſtore her to that diadem which had been cruelly wreſted from her; but the battle of Langſide, fought May 13, 1568, put an end to all hope of that being effected; and in an evil hour ſhe threw herſelf under the protection of her ſiſter Queen, claiming it from the promiſe Elizabeth had made, if it ever ſhould be wanting, in token of which ſhe had given the royal fugitive, in her happier days, a ring as a pledge; but the wretched Mary found ſhe had only exchanged a Scotch for an Engliſh priſon; and for eighteen years ſhe was confined in various caſtles, or caſtilated houſes; but never, though ſhe earneſtly requeſted it, was permitted to have an interview with her rival Queen, who, after treating her with a ſeverity that ſtains a reign otherwiſe one of the moſt glorious that any age can boaſt, indecently ſubjected her, though an independant, but unfortunate, ſovereign, to a trial, and having obtained a verdict againſt her by the commiſſioners ſhe had nominated, confirmed their ſentence; and finding thoſe to whom ſhe had entruſted the unhappy Mary unwilling ſecretly to put her to death, ſent down a warrant

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for her execution, under the authority of which ſhe was brought into the hall of Fotheringay Caſtle, in Northamptonſhire, and publicly beheaded February 8, 1586-7, having lived forty-five years. It is difficult to ſay whether Elizabeth was more refined in her cruelty to Mary, or the latter more dignified in bearing it; inſults and wrongs only called forth more heroiſm, and though ſhe complained with the delicacy of a lady, yet ſhe never loſt the grandeur of a Queen: ſhe ſeemed greater at her death than in any action of her life, and even triumphed in the grave over her rival. Her body was buried with a pomp ſuitable to her proſperous ſtate, not as a criminal; the cathedral of Peterborough was appointed by Elizabeth as the place for her interment, though ſhe had requeſted to have her remains conveyed to France, and laid by thoſe of the Queen, her mother, becauſe, as ſhe ſays in her laſt letter to Elizabeth, "in England, which had departed from the true religion, ſhe could not hope to be interred with the Kings, *our* progenitors, according to the ceremonies of the Catholic church; and in Scotland the ſepulchres of her anceſtors had been profaned and violated;" but James VI. her ſon, with filial piety, removed them from Peterborough in 1612, and depoſited them with thoſe of the ſovereigns of England, in the chapel built by K. Henry VII. for the dormitory of himſelf and his poſterity. There is a particular relation printed of this unhappy Queen's interment in Peterborough cathedral, by which it appears many of the nobility and gentry of both ſexes attended, and the Counteſs of Bedford was chief mourner, all of them habited in black. The removal to Weſtminſter Abbey was private; over the vault is a magnificent monument erected to her memory by K. James VI.

The misfortunes of Mary in Scotland aroſe from having had an education, and having reſided in a court, that made her feel a contempt for her ſubjects, which ſhe could not always conceal: ſhe ſhould either have never truſted or never diſmiſſed the able, but wicked, Murray; and it was extreme ill policy to confide in Rizzio, and to permit him to behave with an indignant pride and haughti-

neſs to her greateſt peers; he even exceeded the King, her huſband, in the number of his attendants, and perhaps too in the richneſs of his wardrobe; ſuch inſolence would not have been ſuffered even in the Gallican court, then the region of favoritiſm; and though the circumſtances of his age, his uglineſs, her pregnancy, the ſilence of her nobles, and Elizabeth's agents, are amply ſufficient to exculpate her from any criminalty, yet the impolicy of it muſt have been obvious to every one, and ought to have been ſeen in the ſame light by herſelf; for what body of fierce, independant, and ignorant chieftans, with armed attendants, would ever ſit quiet under the inſults of a foreign muſician, elevated to be a Secretary of State, and ingroſs entirely the favor of their ſovereign, who, contrary to the cuſtom of her country, admitted him into private ſelect parties in her bedchamber. The marriage of Darnley, and giving him the title of King, which ſhe was not legally authoriſed to do, was another imprudent ſtep; but the ſurrendering her hand to Bothwell was ſuch a miſtake, that it was impoſſible ſhe could ever recover; and ſhe ought to have ſeen the ſtudied plan laid by him and his adherents; a plan which the latter formed merely to ruin her. She ſhould never have reſted until ſhe had brought Darnley's murderers to juſtice; ſhe ſhould have called upon her people to aſſiſt; called upon France, upon all Europe, to eſpouſe her juſt cauſe: this would have raiſed her character, and eſtabliſhed her authority; the guilty would have fled, and thus herſelf and Scotland would have been freed from their greateſt enemies, enemies that never reſted until they had affected her ruin: but Mary ſeemed never to know when it was proper to puniſh, or to pardon. After having called forth the juſt reſentment of Elizabeth in aſſuming her title and the arms of England, ſhe ſhould not only have given her every poſſible ſatisfaction, but have reſtrained herſelf from any attempts againſt the Queen in her dominions, as it gave occaſion for Elizabeth to counterplot her, with that advantage that a rich ſovereign has over a poor one. Mary was equal in diſſimulation to Elizabeth, but inferior in judgment; the one had been nurſed by proſperity, the other had ſtudied mankind,---had drank of the bitter cup of afflic-

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Mary, Queen of Scotland.

tion: but in nothing was the Scottiſh Queen ſo blameable as in her religious conduct, tolerant above her contemporaries; yet was ſhe prevailed upon to join in that deteſtable project of exterminating the reformed, and by imprudently betraying the important ſecret, ſhe made her ruin deſirable by all thoſe who were attached to the reformation; and it would have been the greateſt bar to her ſucceeding to the Engliſh throne, the great object of all her care. Theſe cauſes affected her ruin in Scotland; and her intermeddling with the affairs of Elizabeth, kept alive, and riveted that jealouſy which Mary had raiſed in her breaſt whilſt in France*; it multiplied misfortunes upon her, ſo that both the Engliſh Queen and her miniſters equally ſought, and wiſhed, her ruin; for to the one ſhe ſeemed a moſt dangerous enemy, and the other dreaded finding in her their future ſovereign, an implacable miſtreſs; and the parliament, even the nation at large, had ſuch a dread of a renewal of the horrid cruelties they had experienced in the days of Q. Mary I., that they beheld the perſon, and claim of the Scottiſh ſovereign, as fraught with the utmoſt danger; inſtead therefore of compaſſionating fallen majeſty, of lamenting the misfortunes of Mary, they urged, they almoſt demanded, that ſhe ſhould be ſacrificed to their common ſafety. It is true they viewed her as an adultreſs, and a murderer; for her cruel brother and his partizans had aſperſed her as ſuch, and not only they, but all Chriſtendom, believed the infamous falſehood; yet the Engliſh hated her more as the conſpirator againſt their ſovereign, and as the enemy of their religion, than on account of her ſuppoſed crime againſt K. Henry her huſband. In a country where ſo little regard was had to the royal dignity, at a period when the Chriſtian world was divided between the contending intereſts of the antient ſuperſtition and the ſtrenuous advocates for a reformation,---when ſuch adepts in diſſimulation employed

* Mary's warmeſt partizans blame her conduct whilſt a priſoner in England, eſpecially in her laſt years. Catherine de Medici and Philip II., King of Spain, ſpoke of it with levity and contempt; and it was generally ſaid that ſhe copied the reſtleſs ſpirit of the Houſe of Lorraine, her maternal relations, which led them as well as her into ruin.

their minds againſt her repoſe, can it be wondered that Mary was unable to ride out the ſtorm? A parallel between her and Elizabeth cannot be drawn, without, in imagination, we place Mary upon her throne, and ſeat Elizabeth upon that of Scotland: in that caſe her beauty, elegance, good ſenſe, and clemency, would have won, we may ſuppoſe, every heart, and probably ſhe would have been thought not an exalted character as a politician, yet her name would have been tranſmitted to poſterity in the faireſt and moſt amiable light: and, poſſibly, had Elizabeth been called to preſide over the then-uncultivated people of Scotland, inſtead of the admiration with which hiſtorians deſervedly ſpeak of her, ſhe might not even have been able to retain the ſovereign power, but might have "fell from "all her greatneſs." It is univerſally allowed that Mary greatly excelled the Engliſh Queen in all the winning graces and accompliſhments, as ſhe did in the beauty of her perſon; and in which ſhe ſhone with meridian ſplendor, for in both ſhe was made to charm and captivate; tall and majeſtic; in her form was a perfect ſymmetry; her complection eminently united the roſe with the lilly; her eyes were a dark grey, expreſſive of whatever paſſion ſhe felt in the ſtrongeſt manner; her fine black hair was the beſt contraſt to the beautiful whiteneſs of her complection; her hands and arms were peculiarly delicate, both in make and color; none excelled her in dancing, walking, or riding, in all which the beauties of her perſon were rendered ſtill more lovely. Conſcious of her varied attractions ſhe ſtudied to ſet them off to the beſt advantage, by the richneſs and elegance of her dreſs, in which her taſte was juſt; ſhe loved to diſplay her coſtly jewels, and was ſedulous to have the fineſt linen, and which was ſent from Paris, after ſhe left France, and even whilſt a captive in England *. She ſpoke with peculiar grace, and read with the juſteſt pronunciation; ſhe knew ſeveral of the modern languages, and wrote with eaſe in Latin; her poetry

* Mary in the midſt of her diſtreſſes in the caſtle of Lochleven, when her life was in danger, could not refrain from deſiring her brother Murray to take care of her jewels. Elizabeth was mean and vain enough to have Mary's linen brought to her, that ſhe might ſee, and copy the pattern.

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is plaintive and expreſſive: ſhe had a juſt taſte for muſic, and played with uncommon ſkill upon the lute; and ſhe beguiled ſome of the lonely hours of impriſonment with her needle; but the dreadful miſeries ſhe ſo long endured threw her into an ill ſtate of health, and at her death ſhe had all the marks of a premature old age, fat, lame, ſunk in her cheſt, bowed down, one arm almoſt uſeleſs, and her once-ebon hair was ſilvered over; but ſhe loſt neither her majeſtic mien, nor magnanimity. There is a ſilver medal of her, with the falling tear, which probably gives her features as they were in her laſt days. It would be tedious to mention all the pictures and engraved portraits of Mary; the latter are almoſt conſtantly multiplying. She was extremely fond of devices and mottoes, as appears by her coins, medals, jettoons, and the ſtate bed ſhe embroidered with gold and ſilk, which Drummond particularly deſcribes *: a relation of them would be tireſome.

Queen Mary had three great ſeals; the firſt gives her ſeated upon a throne, with a cloſed crown, a ſceptre in one hand, and the other upon her breaſt, inſcribed MARIA DEI GRATIA REGINA SCOTORV. The reverſe the arms of Scotland, crowned, and with ſupporters, and banners with St. Andrews' croſs, ſaltier wiſe, legend SALVM FAC POPULUM TUUM DNE.

The ſecond ſeal has King Francis and Queen Mary repreſented ſitting under a canopy; upon his robes are dolphins, hers are charged with ermine ſpots; each crowned, he with the order of St. Michael, each holding two ſceptres, one of his ends in a fleur de lis, the other an hand: ſhe has one terminating in an orb, ſurmounted with a croſs, the other an hand, inſcribed with their titles. The reverſe has the arms of France and Scotland, the ſhield is ſmall,

* Query——whether the above is the ſame bed that is now at Scone, in the ancient palace granted by K. James VI. to Sir David Murray, of Goſpatrie? It is, ſays Mr. Pennant, "a medley ſcripture-piece, done in needle work, with a border of "animals, pretty well done, and whilſt ſhe was a priſoner at the caſtle of Loch-"leven."

and the arms placed in a very peculiar manner; on each ſide are F. and M. PART IX.

Francis II., King of France and Scotland, the firſt huſband of Mary, Queen of Scots. Francis II., K. of France and Scotland, firſt huſband of Q. Mary.

Nothing could appear ſo advantageous for both the Britiſh nations as the marriage of Queen Mary with Prince Edward, the only ſon of King Henry VIII.; but this wiſe meaſure was defeated, though once agreed upon, owing to the diſlike of the Roman Catholic clergy, but more, perhaps, from the boiſterous conduct of K. Henry who, inſtead of a gentle conciliating manner to win their approbation, ſeiſed during the negociation ſome Scottiſh ſhips peaceably trading to France: this altered the determination of the people, many of whom before it happened ſeemed anxious to have the contending nations united together; and the great priſoners taken at Salway-Moſs had ſo influenced the Parliament, that it had been agreed that Mary at ten years of age ſhould be ſent into England, but this raſhneſs of Henry overturned the whole. It muſt be allowed that he had always treated the Sovereigns of Scotland with an affectionate tenderneſs as his neareſt relations; but the Scots, with that contempt which his own power and their factious manners inſpired, and as "a beaſtly people regarding neither God nor their "governors." Senſible, however, of his error, he ſtrove all he poſſibly could to regain the confidence of the leaders of the faction, and even offered his own daughter, the Princeſs Elizabeth, in marriage to the regent; but finding his terms rejected, he threatened to force them into his meaſures, and forgetting all juſtice and moderation, he ſent an army that deſolated the ſouth of Scotland. Edinburgh and Leith were burnt, and the whole country through which the army marched was plundered; inſtead of intimidating the Scots, it united them in one general ſentiment, that no alliance ſhould be made with England. However, Henry purſued his aim, and opened another treaty; but his death followed almoſt imme-

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Francis II., K. of France and Scotland, firſt huſband of Q. Mary.

diately *, and the Duke of Somerſet, governor of K. Edward VI., his ſucceſſor, and Regent of the kingdom during his minority, perſiſted in the impolitic plan of the late King, in attempting to force Scotland to accept the propoſitions for the marriage, and for that purpoſe led a gallant army into the kingdom, and though one of the greateſt victories, which the Engliſh ever gained in Scotland, crowned his arms, yet, as he was obliged to haſten back, it gave them time to recover from their conſternation; and inviting 6000 veteran troops from France, they ſurrendered up their independance to that court to avert the danger they feared from that of London; but it was a meaſure they greatly lamented; and from the inſolence that ever has accompanied the French in every part of Europe, in all ages, it gave the Scots ſuch a diſlike to the nation, as to break through a friendſhip that had been of very long duration. Mary however was ſent to France for education, and at length a treaty of marriage was agreed upon between her and Francis, the Dauphin; but it did not meet with the approbation of the wiſe Montmorency, who adviſed that ſhe ſhould be given to a Prince of the Blood, becauſe, ſaid the conſtable, "he may then reſide in Scotland, and retain it as a uſeful ally to France; but if it becomes a province to the crown, it will be mutinous and ungovernable;" but he became a priſoner to Spain, and the all-powerful Guiſes, her uncles, procured the marriage to take effect. By articles dated at Paris, April 19, 1558, it was agreed that the Dauphin ſhould marry the Queen of Scots, and that ſhe ſhould accept of him as her huſband in the face of holy church, on Sunday, April 24.—That if he ſhould die King of France, ſhe, as Queen dowager, ſhould enjoy a jointure of 6000 livres tournois, or a greater ſum if ſhe choſe it, and it could be proved that any Queen dowager of France ever poſſeſſed ſuch.—That if he ſhould die before her, his widow ſhould be entitled to 30,000 livres tournois, from lands in

* King Henry VIII. at laſt took an averſion to the Scottiſh branch of his family, preferring the deſcendants of his younger ſiſter, and entailing the crown upon them, in failure of iſſue of his own children, and which the parliament had given him leave to do; but at Elizabeth's death no ſtreſs was put upon it.

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Francis II., K. of France and Scotland, firſt huſband of Q. Mary.

Tourain and Poictou, in as ample a manner as the late Queen Eleanor, dowager of France, had.—That in the meantime the eſtates of Scotland ſhould have reaſon to be contented with the honorable proviſion which the King of France ſhould make to their Queen and the Dauphin.—That if he ſhould die before her, ſhe may either remain in France, or return to Scotland if ſhe pleaſed, there to enjoy her jointure, and remarry as her parliament ſhould council her; nor ſhould ſhe be hindered from carrying with her all the jewels, furniture, &c., which belongs to the Queen of France, and that whether ſhe had children or not.—That the eldeſt ſon of the marriage, or his repreſentative, ſhould ſucceed to both the kingdoms of France and Scotland, and take the arms of both kingdoms under the ſame crown. — That if there were only daughters, the eldeſt, or her iſſue, ſhould ſucceed to the crown of Scotland, and not marry without the joint conſent of the King of France and the Scotch Eſtates, and ſhould have at marriage the ſum of 300,000 crowns of the ſun, and every one of her ſiſters ſhould have 300,000 crowns of the ſame currency. In conſideration of which, the Scots ambaſſador had promiſed to take an oath of fidelity in the name of the Eſtates of Scotland, after the marriage was ſolemnized, to the Dauphin, as huſband of the Queen; to honor and obey him, during the marriage, and the children of the marriage, in the ſame manner as their predeceſſors did the royal progenitors of the Scotch Queen: and that the King of France and the Scotch Queen had alſo agreed, that the Dauphin ſhould bear the title of King of Scotland, and quarter the arms of that realm with his own. Theſe articles were ſigned and ſolemnly ſworn to by the contracting parties on both ſides, in the preſence of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's ſons, the Dukes of Orleans and Angouleſme; his daughters, the Princeſſes Elizabeth and Claude; his ſiſter Margaret, Ducheſs of Berry; the King and Queen of Navarre; the Cardinals of Lorrain, Bourbon, Chaſtillon, and Guiſe; the Duke of Lorrain and Barr, the Prince of Condé, the Dukes of Guiſe, Nemours, D'Aumale, and many others of inferior dignity; and yet they were only ſnares to impoſe upon the Scottiſh Nation; for to the infamy of all concerned, except

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Francis II., K. of France and Scotland, firſt huſband of Q. Mary.

Francis and Mary, (whoſe ages muſt plead their excuſe) the Queen was obliged, April 4, to ſign three deeds: by the firſt ſhe reſigned in free gift the kingdom of Scotland to him and his heirs, if ſhe died childleſs; by another, ſhe left him and his heirs her kingdom, until he was reimburſed a million pieces of eight, or any greater ſum that might be found to have been expended upon her education in France; and by the third, ſhe declared all promiſes ſhe had made contrary to theſe, which the neceſſity of her affairs and the ſolicitations of her ſubjects had extorted, or might extort from her, to be void, and of no obligation.——What language has words to expreſs a ſufficient abhorrence for ſuch perfidy! eſpecially as the Scotch commiſſioners obliged the King, Queen, and Dauphin, to ratify the ſucceſſion of the crown to the Duke of Chatellerault, and to declare and promiſe that Scotland ſhould be preſerved in all its ancient immunities, and governed by its laws. The commiſſioners, conſiſting of an archbiſhop, two biſhops, two lords, a prior, and a gentleman, repreſenting the eſtates of the kingdom, unſuſpecting any fraud, conſented to the nuptials, which were ſolemnized by the Cardinal of Bourbon, according to the treaty, before a moſt auguſt aſſembly, conſiſting of all thoſe who had witneſſed the treaty; and as the nations were to be governed by this royal pair, the ancient league was renewed, and the ſubjects of the one kingdom declared denizens of the other, and the bride and groom were ſtiled King-Dauphin and Queen-Dauphineſs upon their great ſeal, money, grants, and charters; the regalia of Scotland was taken over to France, for the parliament of that kingdom, though with reluctance, had granted him the crown matrimonial, by which he was to keep the crown for life, even if he ſurvived the Queen his conſort *. By the accidental death of King Henry II., Francis ſucceeding, ſhe became Queen of France. The royal pair were

* To put the expreſſion CROWN MATRIMONIAL upon the plaineſt footing, it ſhould be obſerved that it was not, as Philip, King of Spain, was complimented with the title of King of England, but as King William III. poſſeſſed it, in imitation of the cuſtom in England and Scotland of private eſtates being held for life by the widower of a feme covert; the Duke of Chatellerault in vain proteſting againſt the acts.

crowned at Rheims by the Cardinal of Lorrain, her uncle, Sept. 8, 1559. Francis had always been ſickly, he gradually grew worſe, his body was covered with the diſguſting effects of an inveterate ſcurvy, which at length attacking him internally, proved fatal, Dec. 5, 1560, after a reign of one year and five months, when he had lived not quite eighteen years. His character is marked by no vice, nor ſcarce any virtue, except the moſt unbounded affection for his charming blooming wife; and it muſt be acknowledged that ſhe had great merit in being faithful and attentive to ſuch a huſband: ſhe acted with great propriety in France, yet in a court where females have borne ſuch great ſway, ſhe never appears in a ſtriking point of view, but only as the blind tool of her uncle's ambition. Francis's funeral was celebrated with ſo little ceremony, that it brought a diſgrace upon the Queen regent, his mother; nor did the Guiſes eſcape the cenſure of ingratitude; for only Sanſac and La Broſſe, who had been his governors, and Guillard, the blind Biſhop of Senlis, attended the royal corpſe to St. Dennis. Some perſon, ſhocked with the indecency of this neglect, placed a billet upon the pall, inſcribed "Were are you, Tannequy du "Chatel!" a grateful favorite of Charles VII., who, though baniſhed by him, ſeeing his maſter's remains ſhamefully forſaken, at his own charge buried them with the magnificent ſolemnity due to a ſovereign. Mary was a ſincere mourner for his death, which ſhe deplored in plaintive language, expreſſive of her loſs, as if foreſeeing the future calamities that awaited her. The elegant Henry Pye, Eſq., has tranſlated her poetic lamentations.

Francis II., K. of France and Scotland, firſt huſband of Q. Mary.

Henry, King of Scotland, ſecond huſband of Q. Mary.

As ſovereign of Scotland, preſumptive heir to England, Mary was the object of general deſire, and her late marriage with a monarch of France ſeems to have augmented, if poſſible, her conſequence. The great rivals of Auſtria and Valois ſtrove which ſhould obtain the prize; Don Carlos, the heir of Spain, was the greateſt

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alliance that could have been propoſed; and Philip II. took uncommon pains to obtain Mary for his ſon; Charles, the Archduke of Auſtria, third ſon of the Emperor Ferdinand I. was alſo deſirous of gaining a crown. Henry, Duke of Anjou, ſolicited her hand, the ſame who afterwards became King, and in whom ended the houſe of Valois. Eric, King of Sweden, ſent over his brother as his ambaſſador, to offer a participation of his throne. Anthony, King of Navarre, was ſo deſirous of becoming a real ſovereign, (for nearly the whole of the kingdom he claimed in right of Joan, the only child of Henry II. of Navarre, was withheld by the Spaniſh monarchs) that he offered to obtain a divorce, and unite himſelf to her. Lewis Bourbon, Duke of Condé, and Alphonſo, Duke of Ferrara, were alſo her ſuitors, and yet none of them eſpouſed her. Catherine de Medici, the whole houſe of Valois, and even Elizabeth, united in one common reſolution to oppoſe it. Philip graſped at univerſal empire; Britain would have made him more than the arbiter of Europe; and beſides it would have been a mean of raiſing the Guiſes, Catherine's enemies, to a power that would have been fatal to all her hopes of ambition: ſhe leaned therefore to a marriage with the Archduke Charles; but Elizabeth oppoſed all foreign alliances, eſpecially with the houſe of Auſtria, and to effectually prevent it, cajoled the Emperor, Charles' father, with the hopes of giving her hand and the ſceptre of England to him; and, though ſhe had once before deceived him, yet ſhe artfully impoſed upon him a ſecond time: neither did the Spaniſh branch of Auſtria wiſh to ſee ſo great an aggrandiſement to that of Germany; Maximilian, the eldeſt brother of Charles, too was jealous of the marriage, and oppoſed it all he could, as knowing that if the ſickly heir of the Spaniſh dominions died, it might open projects to Charles to demand the government of the Low Countries, and that he would lie advantageouſly ſituated to enforce thoſe claims: all theſe circumſtances combining, it was no wonder he was obliged to relinquiſh his pretenſions. Catherine de Medici gave a commiſſion, impowering her ſon, the Duke of Anjou, to make propoſals; Mary loved France moſt paſſionately, but there was more urgent reaſons than

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Elizabeth's diſpleaſure, to make her reſign up the wiſh of her heart, to return to that favorite kingdom: the inconveniences which Catherine of Spain experienced in marrrying two brothers, Arthur and K. Henry VIII., were too obvious not to be noticed, and too recent to be forgotten; beſides, the idea of entering France in an inferior ſtation hurt her pride; and the being ſubject to the will of a mother-in-law, whoſe vindictive temper ſhe had experienced, was an objection not to be ſurmounted. The latter of theſe reaſons prevented her liſtening to the wiſhes of the Scots, who were deſirous of her marrying the Prince of Condé, perhaps, the moſt advantageous alliance of any for them; as to Sweden, Navarre, and Ferrara, the Queen declined all thoughts of them; the characters of the kings were ſuch as forbade her to hope for happineſs with them; and Ferrara was too diſtant to be any thing but an incumbrance to her.—Elizabeth ſo earneſtly urged that all friendſhip muſt ceaſe, if any marriage was contracted by her with the houſes of Valois or Auſtria, and her own ſubjects equally fearing again falling under the yoke of a great foreign potentate, together with the jealouſies of the princes themſelves, precluded Mary from marrying any of them: ſhe therefore liſtened to the wiſhes of Britain, in fixing upon ſome illuſtrious perſon, a native, who could not raiſe a fear, either in the breaſts of her own ſubjects, or in thoſe ſhe one day hoped to reign over*. The great policy of Mary was to ſecure the ſucceſ-

* Don Carlos, Prince of Spain, ſon of Philip II., K. of Spain, by Mary, daughter of John III., K. of Portugal, was born in 1545,—died in impriſonment, by the command of his father, in 1568, unmarried; he was deformed in his perſon, and raſh to exceſs. The Archduke Charles III., ſon of the Emperor Ferdinand I., was born in 1540, obtained Stiria, Carinthea, and Carniola; he married Mary, daughter of Albert V., Duke of Bavaria, by whom he had Ferdinand II., who, by the failure of the male line of the two eldeſt ſons of Ferdinand I., became Emperor. Henry, Duke of Anjou, became K. of France in 1673, and married in 1575 the daughter of the Earl of Varedemont, in Lorrain, by whom he had no male iſſue: he was a moſt cruel, timid, ſuperſtitious prince, and never ſincerely attached himſelf to Mary's intereſt in her adverſity; he was killed, in 1589, by James Clement, a fanatical friar, a partizan of the holy league formed againſt him. Eric, K. of Sweden, was born in 1531, paid his addreſſes to both the Britiſh Queens, yet afterwards married a mean

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ſion of England; ſhe therefore affected to be guided by Elizabeth in this momentous buſineſs, who propoſed her marrying ſome great Engliſh peer, and fixed upon two, that ſhe might make her election; but Elizabeth only wanted to protract the time, and keep her ſtill a widow; the Queen of England named only Lord Robert Dudley. The mutual diſſimulation of theſe rivals was beyond credibility, whilſt each was carrying on dangerous plots in the other's dominions, and though it was probably Darnley that Elizabeth wiſhed Mary to marry, yet ſhe uſed every argument in her power to perſuade Mary, her ambaſſadors, and commiſſioners, to agree to accept Dudley; ſhe called him her "dear lord," wore his miniature, and, to ſhew her familiar attachment to him, in the preſence of Melvil, the Scottiſh ambaſſador, ſhe tickled him in the neck, proteſting ſhe would marry him herſelf, if ſhe wiſhed a huſband; and that ſhe regarded him as a "brother and her beſt friend;" and ſhe ſaid her ſiſter could not do better than marry him, becauſe ſhe ſhould be ſure he would not attempt any thing to prejudice her titles: to make him of a rank more deſerving the intended honor, ſhe created him Baron Denbigh, and ſoon after Earl of Leiceſter, gave him conſiderable grants to ſupport his rank, and then graced him with the Garter *. But Mary and her ſubjects ſcorned the al-

girl, who had been his miſtreſs: in a fit of inſanity he cut off many of his nobles; for theſe reaſons his brother depoſed him in 1568, and having uſurped his throne, was not content in the enjoyment of it, until, after making him ſuffer dreadful cruelties in a wretched priſon, in the iſle of Aland, he poiſoned him. Anthony, King of Navarre, was a man of underſtanding, but depraved manners; he was killed in battle in 1562, in the civil wars of France. The gallant Prince of Condé, born in 1530, and killed in the ſame way, in 1569, at Jarnac: he was anceſtor to the Princes of Condé and Conti. Alphonſo, Duke of Ferrara, was ſon of Hercules II., by Renata, daughter and ſole heir of Louis XII., K. of France. Alphonſo died without iſſue in 1595, when the Pope ſeized upon Ferrara as a fief of the Holy-ſee. How unfortunate were moſt of theſe Princes!

* Robert, Earl of Leiceſter, Knight of the orders of St. George and St. Michael, was fifth ſon of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, attainted and beheaded in the reign of Q. Mary I.: he was maſter of the horſe, and Lord Steward of the houſehold to Q. Elizabeth, beſides holding many other great and important poſts; he was never eſteemed a man of abilities, but his perſon charmed the heart of his miſtreſs; ſhe

lance; the commiſſioners ſeemed more deſirous of the Earl of Bedford, and not of a peer ſo newly created as Leiceſter; he too thought the propoſition dangerous for himſelf, apologizing that he had not the preſumption to think he could be accepted; ſaying it

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was extremely partial to him; it was univerſally known that when ſhe expreſſed her vaſt ſurpriſe, that her relation the Ducheſs of Suffolk ſhould ſo far forget her dignity as to marry her Maſter of Horſe; the Ducheſs replied, "and ſo would her majeſty "too if ſhe durſt." This nobleman was ſo guilty of poiſoning, that it was called "a "Leiceſter fever;" yet this wretch was a puritan, and their conſtant patron: he died at Cornebury Lodge, in Oxfordſhire, Sep. 4, 1588, and ſo poor, that his funeral was very private; and the Queen ſeized upon his property to pay herſelf the debts he owed her. He married thrice; 1ſt. Amy daughter of Sir Robſart Knight, whoſe life he took away to remove an impediment to his obtaining the hand of his ſovereign, but finding his ambition defeated, he privately married, 2d, Douglas, daughter of Wil. Lord Howard, ſiſter of Charles, Earl of Nottingham, and widow of Lord Sheffield: by this Counteſs he had Sir Robert Dudley; but as he durſt not at firſt own, and afterwards did not chuſe to do it, he never acknowledged him as legitimate: this ill-uſed gentleman retiring to Florence, was declared by the Emperor Ferdinand II. a Duke, and took his grandfather's title of Northumberland; he was one of the greateſt men of the age for abilities. The Earl of Leiceſter had a criminal paſſion for Lettice, daughter of Sir Francis Knowles, treaſurer to Q. Elizabeth, and at that time wife of Robert Devereux, Earl of Eſſex: no enormity ſtood in his way to accompliſh his purpoſes; he therefore took off that nobleman whilſt in Ireland, and to diſpatch his own wife gave her poiſon, which, though ſhe loſt by it her hair and nails, did not deſtroy her, but it influenced her ſo far as to conſent to drop all claim to her unprincipled huſband; he therefore married the Counteſs-dowager of Eſſex, by whom he had one ſon, Robert, Baron of Denbigh, who died young. Robert, her ſon by Lord Eſſex, was the elegant, accompliſhed, and unfortunate favorite of Q. Elizabeth, and father of the Parliament General in the reign of K. Charles I. She afterwards married a third huſband, Sir Chriſtopher Blount, Knight, who was beheaded March 15, 1601, for being engaged in the inſurrection of his half brother, the Earl of Eſſex: his widow died Dec. 25, 1634. Gervas Cliſton wrote her epitaph; in it he ſays, ſpeaking of her perſon,

"Here may you ſee that face, that hand,
"Which once was faireſt in the land."

and of her love for Leiceſter,

"She that in her youth had been
"Darling to the maiden Queen,
"Till ſhe was content to quit
"Her favor for her favorite."

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was done by his enemies to make him ſuſpected by one Queen, and hated by the other. Mary had for ſome time carried on a negociation with the Counteſs of Lenox; by which that lady perceived how much ſhe wiſhed to marry Lord Darnley, her ſon; the proſpect of ſo rich a match was too flattering to her, not to accept the propoſition with avidity; this was not, however, ſo ſecretly carried on, but that Elizabeth was apprized of it, and probably ſhe was moſt highly pleaſed, whilſt Catherine de Medici was hurt; ſhe could not bear that Scotland ſhould be loſt to France, and the uncles of Mary exerted all their influence and arts to break off the marriage. Elizabeth's penetration diſcovered itſelf, when, after aſking of Melvil his opinion reſpecting Leiceſter, ſhe pointed to Darnley, who, as firſt Prince of the blood, carried the ſword of ſtate; "you like better of yonder long lad;" but he, with ſeeming ſurprize, replied, "no woman of ſpirit could make choice of "ſuch a man,"—"for he was handſome, beardleſs, and lady-faced." There were very powerful reaſons for this partiality in the Queen of Scotland to him; ſhe thought it would much advance and ſtrengthen her claim to the Engliſh diadem, becauſe his mother was one degree nearer to K. Henry VII. than herſelf; ſhe was born in England, knew and was known to all the great characters of the nations; and if ſhe and her family ſhould become Proteſtants, and ally themſelves to ſome potent houſe in England, it was impoſſible to have ſaid what the conſequences would have been; the laws of ſucceſſion were not at that time preciſely ſettled in Europe; and what was ſtill more material, in her opinion, ſhe thought that the crown of England, like private eſtates, could not be claimed by a foreigner, without an expreſs act of Parliament to make the heir a denizen; though this was an error, ſhe did not ever know to the contrary; but there were ſome other reaſons why ſhe wiſhed to marry Darnley, for ſhe thought it would gratify the Scots to have not only the ſon of a native reign with her, but that the crown would, by their iſſue, remain in the ſame family; the Stuart line would be continued by the union of the two branches.

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Actuated by theſe ſentiments, ſhe invited the Earl of Lenox, his father, into Scotland, intimating a deſire to reſtore him to his native country, his family honors, and poſſeſſions: Elizabeth gave permiſſion, and wrote a letter to recommend him to Mary, who received him with peculiar diſtinction, which alarmed and irritated the rival Houſe of Hamilton. Elizabeth ſeeing this, to return the compliment for the plots ſhe carried on with her Roman Catholic ſubjects, openly eſpouſed the cauſe of the Hamiltons, and dictatorially cautioned her majeſty not to excite diſſention in her court by her partiality to Lenox, which ſo highly irritated her ſiſter of Scotland, that ſhe openly reproached her with duplicity; Elizabeth recriminated, and all correſpondence was dropt; the intended perſonal interview was laid aſide; but the Queen of England having puniſhed one of her ſubjects for writing in favor of the pretenſions of the houſe of Suffolk to the crown of England, it ſoftened Mary; negociations were opened, Leiceſter was again warmly recommended, the Scotch commiſſioners ſpoke of his pretenſions with ſtill greater contempt and diſlike: both Murray and Lethington ſeeing that it was only to amuſe, as only general propoſals were offered, if the marriage was to take effect, broke off a treaty equally inſincere on both ſides. However, Mary and the Lenox family, alike deſirous of the union, ſecretly purſued the plan they had formed; Lady Lenox aſked permiſſion alſo for her ſon to go into Scotland, that he might partake of the pleaſure his father received in that kingdom, which Elizabeth was alſo deſirous of, fearing otherwiſe that Mary ſhould cloſe with the propoſal of marrying Leiceſter, to whom ſhe was too much attached to part with for any motive whatever; and ſhe flattered herſelf that ſhe could recal him again as her ſubject whenſoever ſhe pleaſed, eſpecially as ſhe had his mother and their Engliſh eſtates as pledges for their obedience; therefore, if ſhe did not permit, ſhe did not oppoſe his going; previous to which his father had his attainture taken off by the Parliament of Scotland, and he was reſtored to all his claims of

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rank and inheritance *. In February, 1565, Darnley came into Scotland, and was preſented to her majeſty at Wemyſs, in Fife, in her progreſs, unbending herſelf with all the amuſements ſhe could obtain. What had been planned by policy, was finiſhed by love; Mary was entirely captivated by his perſon and elegant qualifications; ſuperficial indeed, but made to give that inſtantaneous impreſſion that rivets affection, and which is perhaps never to be obliterated: cautious as ſhe was of expreſſing her ſentiments relative to marriage, ſhe was ſurpriſed into a declaration in praiſe of his perſon, ſaying, "he was the propereſt and beſt proportioned long "man that ever ſhe had ſeen;" and as he carried away the praiſe of all in the conſtant amuſements of banquets, maſks, and balls given by Mary, ſhe ſunk into the ſoft delirium, and every idea of ſtate policy gave place to the moſt tender, moſt amiable of paſſions. It was now in vain that the Emperor offered a greater fortune with the Archduke Charles, as he had diſcovered the ſecond deception of Elizabeth. Catherine de Medici's propoſal of punctuality in paying her dowry, of reſtoring the penſions to the Scotch nobility, of gratifying her in any thing ſhe wiſhed, was to no more purpoſe than Elizabeth's threats, proteſtations, and blandiſhments; for ſhe had impriſoned the Counteſs of Lenox, ſhe had ſent a letter, ſigned by herſelf and privy counſellors, to declare it was a dangerous and raſh undertaking, and adviſing the Queen not to think of this alliance, and even demanded both his and his father's return †. The Princes of Lorrain, whom Mary had uſed to liſten to with a fond obedience, were now thought officious; and Murray, whom

* Q. Mary acted with uncommon prudence in pacifying the Hamiltons and others who had obtained the poſſeſſions of the houſe of Stuart, of the Lenox branch; but the raſhneſs of the Earl and his ſon defeated her well-judged deſigns.

† The Scottiſh Queen, foreſeeing what would happen, had precluded the neceſſity of the Earl of Lenox returning into England upon pecuniary accounts, even before he was reſtored to his eſtates, by negociating a loan of 50,000l. Scotch, or about 12,000l. ſterling; he was, however, dejected, knowing the temper of his "other" miſtreſs; but Darnley, raſh and ſanguine, boaſted, that when he had married Mary, they ſhould have more influence in England than Elizabeth herſelf.

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ſhe had feared as a ſevere preceptor, ſhe diſregarded, as well as her other counſellors: the fond and languiſhing Chattelrault appeared more diſagreeable to her than ever, and ſhe reſolved at all riſks to pleaſe herſelf and diſappoint Elizabeth, whom ſhe found wanted to ſpin out the matter to a length too tedious for a paſſion ſo ardent as her's was to ſupport; for this reaſon ſhe ſent to Rome for a diſpenſation; to France to procure the conſent of that court, who, pleaſed that Auſtria was diſappointed, yielded it. Elizabeth was alſo applied to, but ſhe ſtill retained the maſk ſhe had worn from the beginning of the project, ſecretly wiſhing, but openly condemning it *. She had endeavoured to win all thoſe who had been in poſſeſſion of the Lenox titles or eſtates, by procuring a ſurrender of them; but the Proteſtant nobility, at the head of whom were Murray and Chattelrault, would never comply with her wiſhes; and Darnley's violence, and his father's impolicy, gave them too much reaſon to oppoſe the marriage: a conſpiracy was raiſed to ſeize them, and deliver the parent and his ſon to the Queen of England; but it was defeated, and the culprits were obliged to take ſhelter in that kingdom whither they meant to lead Lenox and Darnley priſoners. Many of the nobility, at her requeſt, ſigned their approbation of the alliance; and Rizzio, from the quarrel between him and Murray, did all he could to promote it: Darnley even employed him to make Mary more earneſt to bring the negociation to a ſpeedy termination, whoſe wiſhes equally led that way; yet ſhe ſeemed to pay ſome attention to Elizabeth, by admitting Throgmorton, her ambaſſador, in 1565, to urge all his reaſons againſt the marriage; but no ſooner had he done that, than to convince him of their fallacy, ſhe had the oath of knighthood tendered to Darnley, and admitted him into the order, and made him a banneret; created him Baron Armanagh, and he was belted

* So ſecure was Randolph that the Scots could not effect this marriage without Elizabeth's approbation, that in a letter to Cecil, dated March 20, 1565, he ſays, "that contrary to my ſovereign's will, let them attempt, let them ſeek, or let them "ſend to all the Cardinals, or devils in hell, it ſhall paſs their power to bring any "thing to paſs."

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Earl of Roſs, doing homage to the Queen, without any reſervation of allegiance to the crown of England; and he was permitted to dub fourteen gentlemen knights, five of whom were of his own ſurname. Such diſtinguiſhed honors might have been ſuppoſed ſufficient to ſatisfy the moſt ſanguine; but being removed from the awful court of England to that of Scotland, he felt like a youth juſt eſcaped from a ſevere preceptor, knowing no bounds to his extravagant deſires; therefore, ſo far from being content, he threatened to ſtab Lord Ruthven, the meſſenger from the Queen, ſent to acquaint him that ſhe had deferred a few days raiſing him to the Dukedom of Albany; and this too at a time when Elizabeth, with inſulting rudeneſs, was demanding him and his father, and Murray was accuſing him of a conſpiracy againſt his life. July 20 he was gratified with this high title; and upon the 28th, he was commanded by proclamation, to be addreſſed to and ſtiled King, which was exceeding not only prudence, but the laws of the kingdom; as the Parliament, though it had been ſummoned, had not ſat, and conſequently could not authorize it. Upon the following day, between five and ſix in the morning, this moſt beautiful Princeſs was conducted by the Earls of Lenox and Athol, attended by many of her nobles, to the chapel of Holyrood Houſe, but dreſſed, not as one who was to be led from the altar to the bridal bed, but as a ſorrowing widow; for ſhe was habited in "the great mourning "gown of black, with the great mourning hood, not unlike unto "that which ſhe wore the doleful day of the burial of her huſband:" theſe peers returned, and in the ſame manner brought in the bridegroom, whilſt John Sinclair, Dean of Reſtalrig, and Biſhop of Brechin, attended by two prieſts, waited to perform the ceremony. The banns were now aſked a third time, and a notary ſignified by an inſtrument, that no impediment had been alledged, when the marriage rites were celebrated according to the Romiſh communion; it is ſingular, that three rings were uſed, the middle one a rich diamond. After receiving the bleſſing upon their knees, the King having ſaluted her, retired; but ſhe remained there and heard maſs, and then was conveyed to her chamber, where he

waited her arrival; here he and their courtiers united in requeſting ſhe would no longer give herſelf up to cares unbefitting the occaſion, her youth, and royal eſtate; and after ſome feminine objections, each gentleman was permitted to come to her majeſty, and draw out a pin, and then ſhe was committed to the care of her ladies, and dreſſed in robes ſuitable to the ſolemnities of the day*; during the entertainments of which ſhe was ſerved by the Earl of Athol as ſewer, the Earl of Morton as carver, and the Earl of Crawford performed the office of cup-bearer.

Henry was again, by ſound of trumpet, declared King, and aſſociated with Mary in the government; had a ſuitable attendance appointed him; the Earls of Eglinton, Caſſilis, and Glencairn were ſelected to officiate as his ſewer, carver, and cup-bearer. Darnley, or more properly ſpeaking, K. Henry, was at this time only nineteen years of age, and had been in Scotland only five months, ſo that he was ill qualified for that entire confidence her majeſty placed in him, had his ſenſe and experience greatly exceeded his age; but his whole conduct evinced how little deſerving

* But "the Queen went not to bed, to ſignify to the world, that it was not luſt "that moved them to marry, but only the ſecurity of her country, not, if God "will, long to leave it deſtitute of an heir; ſuſpicious men, or ſuch as are given of "all things to make the worſt, would that it ſhould be believed that they knew each "other before that they came there: I would not that your Lordſhips ſhould ſo be-"lieve it; the likelihoods are ſo great to the contrary, that if it were poſſible to ſee "ſuch an act done, I would not believe it." Mary's wearing her weeds, and affectation of chaſtity, was in compliance with monkiſh prejudices, then not done away, by which chaſtity was praiſed more than the firſt command of the God of nature: it cannot be denied that tradition ſays, that Mary had been prevailed upon to take "ſhelter with Darnley under the yew tree," in the garden of Crickſton caſtle, in Renfrewſhire, the ſeat of the Lenox family; and Fame ſays it was in grateful remembrance of the delicious moments ſhe enjoyed there, that ſhe ſtruck ſo many coins with a device of a tree of that kind under a crown, and the motto DAT GLORIA VIRES, &c.; but this anticipation of the rites of Hymen is now diſbelieved, She was married July 28, 1565; K. James VI. the only child of that union, was born June 12, 1566, almoſt eleven months afterwards.

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in every reſpect he was of that preference the Queen had given him to the greateſt Princes in Europe; none of whom honored him with any particular mark of reſpect, except Charles IX. of France, who, in the following year, ſent him the order of St. Michael, with which he was ſolemnly inveſted in the chapel of Holyrood Houſe; but that court was ſoon convinced of his unworthineſs; and when paſſion gave room to reaſon, Mary found that he was "proud, diſdainful, ſuſpicious, giddy, obſtinate, inſolent, "and mean;" his mind too weak to rectify his errors, yet his vanity led him to think nothing was ſuperior to the depth of his judgment; theſe hurt her as a Queen, but ſhe was more wounded as a woman; the loweſt of her female ſubjects rivalled her in his embraces, and he brought the infection he had caught of them to her bed: horſes, hawks, and dogs engaged his mind ſo much, that he could not join in thoſe amuſements that were congenial to her taſte, and ſuch as ever muſt be the delight of ladies; he ceaſed to ſhine in the maſk or the ball; his companions were choſen from the moſt debauched, and with them he ſpent his evenings in riot and inebriety. Preſumption only, the preſumption of his vile aſſociates, could make him not only aſk, but demand, and that with inſolent rudeneſs, the crown matrimonial; but inſtead of granting him that, Mary found ſhe had given him too much already; however, ſhe amuſed him, by ſaying the eſtates of the kingdom could only make it legal, and therefore they muſt be conſulted. Unſatisfied with this, he united with the baniſhed noblemen and diſcontented grandees, who flattered his prejudices, even derided the idea of the government of a woman, and they agreed, by circumſcribing the Queen's power, to elevate his own, for which he was to obtain a reſtitution of their forfeited honors and eſtates. The great impediment to the feaſibility of their ſcheme was Rizzio, and him they agreed to make their firſt ſacrifice; which they effected with ſuch circumſtances of barbarity, that muſt have ſtamped them with infamy, even in an age when aſſaſſination was deemed ſcarcely criminal; the wretched victim fell beneath the dagger in the preſence of inſulted majeſty; and dragging

him thence; her ears were wounded with his dying groans, whilſt a piſtol was held to her body; and ſhe was threatened, if ſhe cried out, to be cut into pieces, and thrown out of the window. Ruthven, juſt recovering from a dangerous ſickneſs, clad in armour, the figure of the ghaſtly enemy of human nature, come in a bodily form to fetch his deſtined prey, after aſſiſting in the murder, rudely ſat down in the royal preſence, and called for wine *. What uſage was this for a ſovereign in her palace, in the midſt of her capital, when ſeven months gone with child by the huſband of her choice, whom ſhe had raiſed to a throne! Could it be ſuppoſed an high-ſpirited woman could forgive what the meekeſt would moſt forcibly have felt; what a compariſon would ſhe draw between him and Francis; between the French and the Scotch; between the adorers and deteſters of beauty, elegance, and dignity! She, however, condeſcended to court him, that ſhe might obtain her eſcape, and ſhe had ſo much power over him, as to effect it; but having done this, ſhe convinced him how cruelly he had wronged her; for withdrawing her attention, the courtiers deſerted him, and he found himſelf a ſingle individual. Her reſentment probably at firſt was extremely violent; at length affection ſeems to have revived, and ſhe wiſhed only to humble, not to materially injure him; ſhe liſtened to overtures of reconciliation, and by the perſuaſion of the ambaſſador extraordinary of France, they paſſed two nights together, and going to Megatland, in Tweedale, to partake of the chace, with the Earls of Huntley, Murray, Bothwel, and other noblemen, they went to Edinburgh, and then took the road to Sterling; but ſelf importance, and an immoderate deſire of power, overturned all the wiſhes of Mary and their common friends; for finding that he was not reſtored to all he had loſt, he became retired and diſobliging: he refuſed to go to the capital, but remained at Sterling, where he projected a plan to leave Scotland, and paſs

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* Ruthven, and others of the conſpirators, when at their deaths, ſpoke of the "ſlaying of David" as only a common occurrence, which needed no apology, much leſs contrition; even Knox and others, not guilty of it, mentioned it as meritorious; but in other countries it was viewed in its proper light.

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over to the Continent. She now was juſtly alarmed; his abſenting himſelf would injure her, their ſon, and ſubjects; the Earl of Lenox, weak as he was, joined her againſt him; ſhe made condeſcenſions to him equal to what a private woman could have done to a wayward and petulant huſband. He would not enter the palace of Holyrood Houſe Sept. 29, 1566, when he came to Edinburgh, until the Earls of Argyle, Murray, and Rothes, three of the four noblemen who were at that time with his Queen, had retired; complying, ſhe went out of the palace, leaving her company to welcome him; and at length, with great difficulty, enticed him into her bedchamber, but he would remain only that night and the next morning with her; nor could ſhe extort, by the kindeſt endearments, what had diſpleaſed him. The French envoy, Du Croc, with her privy council, in the morning again ſolicited him to mention his ſuppoſed grievances, and he was promiſed every ſatisfaction, even againſt the higheſt ſubjects of the kingdom, if they had injured him. Before this ſelect aſſembly, taking him kindly by the hand, ſhe preſſed it, and beſought him to name wherein ſhe had behaved otherwiſe than as an affectionate wife; he however withſtood all this, though he owned that he could not lay any blame upon the Queen for what he had to complain of. Unable to bear the ſituation he was in, turning to her majeſty, he ſaid, "adieu, "madam, you ſhall not ſee me for a long time," and bowing to the French envoy, and to the Lords of the privy council, he retired; but after ſome days ſpent at Sterling, diſcovering that his conduct was as much condemned as Mary's was admired, he wrote to her, ſlightly ſignifying, that his deſign of leaving the kingdom was, becauſe he was neither truſted nor properly honored by her; his attendants were taken away, and the nobility had withdrawn themſelves: to which ſhe replied, how much ſhe had raiſed him, and how ill he had uſed ſuch diſtinctions; hinting, that though the conſpirators againſt Rizzio had accuſed him as the contriver of the plot, ſhe had even treated him as if he had no concern in it; that ſhe had offered him conſtantly the attendance of her own ſervants; the nobility, ſhe ſaid, were at once the ſupport of the crown, and

independent of it; ſhe could not command, but he might win their duty, which his ſtatelineſs had loſt him; and if he could gain it, ſhe ſhould do all in her power to promote his honor and happineſs: greater wiſdom could not have been exerted to reclaim him, had he been poſſeſſed of the leaſt judgment; but unhappily it made no impreſſion upon him. Murray, and his wicked aſſociates, continued to render him inſignificant to all, and probably to exaſperate him ſtill more againſt the Queen; their malice was too ſucceſsful, for whilſt ſhe lay ſtruggling at Jedburgh between life and death with a fever, occaſioned more by perturbation of mind than exceſs of bodily fatigue, he never once came, or even ſent to enquire after her health, until ſhe was recovering, when, Nov. 5, he arrived there; it was the more extraordinary, as both herſelf and thoſe around her ſuppoſed ſhe was going to her grave, into which it would have been an happineſs to herſelf had ſhe ſunk. As ſhe received him with diſtance, and that reſpect which his rank only deſerved, diſguſted, he again retired to Sterling, leaving her to purſue her progreſs through her dominions with her attendant nobles, whilſt all Britain ſought her good opinion, and ſeemed deſirous of courting her ſmiles. At the baptiſm of his ſon, Dec. 17, his conduct was more prepoſterous, if poſſible; reſiding at Sterling, where the ceremony was performed, he would not attend it, or any of the amuſements that were made to honor it. Mary, the beautiful, neglected, inſulted Mary, retired from her court, her noble viſitors, the repreſentatives of her auguſt relations, friends, and allies, to ſigh, weep, and deplore her ill fate, in being united to ſo unfeeling a huſband. Struck with his barbarity, Du Croc told him, that if he viſited him, as he had intimated he would, as there were two paſſages to his chamber, if his majeſty entered at one, he would retire by the other. December 27, leaving his chamber, where he principally ſecluded himſelf, in a temper of mind which mortified pride only knows, he took the road to Glaſgow, without acquainting the Queen with his intentions, though ſhe was then in the city, whither ſhe had returned from excurſions to the ſeats of her nobles in that vicinity; at Glaſgow, however, he

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found himſelf ſurpriſed with a dangerous diſorder, the effects of poiſon, the impureneſs of his amours, or the ſmall pox; his malady, whatever it was, became ſo violent, that he ſeemed to ſtand upon the brink of eternity: deſerted of all, except the Queen whom he had abandoned, reflection called loud, and at length he liſtened; he was ſoftened, his ſtubborn nature bent to reaſon, and he felt moſt ſenſibly how much he had loſt, and how greatly he had deſerved it. Her Majeſty had left Sterling, and was in Edinburgh when the news of his illneſs reached her; probably, pleaſed with ſo favorable an opportunity of convincing him of the continuance of that paſſion, which had been ſo vehement in its commencement, ſhe left her capital, Jan. 24 or 25, to go and attend him, and nothing was omitted, power or the moſt tender attention could procure: ſhe waited upon him with a fond ſolicitude, and looked forward, we may ſuppoſe, when the Hymeneal torch ſhould burn again with as lively a flame as ever. He was ſenſibly touched with the care of the Queen; his mind and body began to recover that tone they had loſt; and ſhe conducted him to Edinburgh, that ſhe might the better unite the judgment of the moſt eminent of the faculty with her own perſonal care; but as the palace of Holyrood Houſe was ſituated in a damp place, ſhe ordered a houſe, called Kirkafield, to be made proper for his reception: it was a far more elevated ſituation; it was diſtant from the city noiſe, and was ſufficiently large to contain his ſuite of attendants, having belonged to the ſuperior of the monaſtery of St. Mary in the Fields, a name given it, upon the ſame principles as St. George's in the Fields, near London. Whilſt love and harmony, friendſhip and tenderneſs, were uniting to bleſs the royal pair, the enemies of their repoſe were buſy in rendering it abortive; they were alarmed at the junction, fearing that they ſhould be puniſhed for the plots they had been carrying on: the ſovereign power they ſuppoſed would be invincible, if the ſceptre was ſwayed jointly by them, and all their dark projects rendered nugatory; they determined therefore to prevent it by putting him to death; for they remembered that in the moſt bitter moments of his ill uſage ſhe refuſed a divorce from him, which they

had offered to procure, but which ſhe had declined, fearing it might reflect upon herſelf, or injure her ſon, and leſſen their claim upon the crown of England. The chief conſpirators in the nefarious wickedneſs were Murray, Morton, Bothwell, and Lethington; theſe having procured gunpowder to be conveyed into the cellars of the houſe, and prepared all things in readineſs for his deſtruction, fixed upon the night of Sunday, the 10th of February, to accompliſh it: as the Queen often ſlept there, though not with the King, ſhe thought they alſo intended to have deſtroyed her; and it had more the appearance of reality, as ſhe meant to have remained there during the whole night; but recollecting that one of her ſervants had been married that day, and ſhe had promiſed to give a maſk* on that account, ſhe left him with the moſt cordial affection, giving him a ring from her finger as a token of it. At half paſt two o'clock the whole city was in a conſternation by a vaſt exploſion; for the houſe, where ſhe had left him, was in part blown into the air, and his body with that of one of his attendants was found in the garden: the King was naked, and his ſlippers near him. A very judicious author thinks the bodies were thrown in the manner they were found by the action of the gunpowder; but it is more natural to believe the generally-received report, that his majeſty was taken from his bed down to a ſtable, where a napkin was forced into his mouth, which ſuffocated him, and then he was taken where he was found: the only objection to it is, why take that trouble when his deſtruction by the exploſion would have been equally certain? but part of the houſe remained, and ſome perſons in it eſcaped with their lives; beſides no external injury appeared, which, though poſſible, is not probable to have happened, had he been in his bed chamber when it was deſtroyed. It is agreed by all that Bothwell was preſent; and

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* Francis Sebaſtian de Villars, a native of Arvernois, in France, was much favored by Q. Mary for his "cunning in muſic, his merry, and jeſting;" having had an intrigue with Margaret Carwood, one of her majeſty's gentlewomen, the effects of which becoming viſible, he was obliged to marry her. The wedding was celebrated at Holyrood Houſe, and in the evening upon which the King was killed, a maſked ball, in the French ſtile, was given by the Queen.

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that the two Ormeſtons, T. Hepburn, and ſome others were, the wicked inſtruments employed in the murder. Had his death been natural it would have been an happineſs to Scotland, and a bleſſing to the Queen; but as it was it threw the former into anarchy and confuſion, and involved Mary in ruin: for her enemies, the perpetrators of the murder, having caſt the odium upon her, impriſoned her perſon, and tore from her head the diadem, which deſcended to her from a long line of anceſtry. God, however, did not permit thoſe who planned his violent death to deſcend to their graves in peace; Murray fell alſo by the hand of an aſſaſſin, Morton loſt his head upon a ſcaffold, Bothwell died in the utmoſt wretchedneſs after a ten-years tedious captivity in a dungeon, and Lethington, to prevent a public execution, fell by his own hand. Such was the end of the handſome, elegant, ſimple Henry, the father of the firſt monarch of Great Britain, and who, had he poſſeſſed common prudence, would have been the moſt fortunate man of the age he lived in; but his follies were great, and his crimes exceeded them; his murder of Rizzio, his ingratitude to the Queen of Scots, and his abandoned debaucheries, not even his age can excuſe or ſcarcely palliate: his years were few, his crimes many and atrocious, and they were not balanced by a ſingle virtue. The body of the King was taken, I preſume, upon the twelfth to Holyrood Houſe, where the Queen viewed with ſilent ſorrow that form ſhe had once ſo much doted upon: it was then embalmed; and Mary again a widow retired to her caſtle of Edinburgh, there to lament her unhappy fate; and ſhe gave way to all the luxury of woe, admitting few to the apartment in which ſhe ſecluded herſelf; it was hung with black, and the rays of the ſun were not permitted to cheer her; a taper burning faintly added to the gloom: but by the directions of her phyſicians, who declared her life to be endangered by it, ſhe removed to Seton, ſeven miles from Edinburgh. The council ordered his funeral to be celebrated in the manner the reformed buried their dead; this precluded Mary from making them public, but they were decently ſplendid; the juſtice clerk, Lord Traquair, and ſeveral other gentlemen attending, and the corpſe was depoſited

in the ſame vault in which King James V., his firſt Queen, and his infant ſon, had been laid. The King's body was found with theirs, but the ſkull had been ſtolen before the year 1776, though his thigh bones now, or till lately, were there, and "are proofs of the vaſt-"neſs of his ſtature, which has been ſaid to have been ſeven feet." There is an engraved portrait of him taken from a painting in St. James' Palace; the print is ſtiled "Henry Lord Darnley (titular "King of Scotland) An. Do. 1563, æt. 17. Lucas de Heere p. G. "Vertue ſc." Another engraved portrait is intitled "Henry Lord "Darnley, Duke of Albany, &c. ſold by George Humble, 4to." The Earl of Lenox had painted ſeveral pictures relative to the miſfortunes of him and Queen Mary, commiſerating him, and reflecting upon her: one of theſe pieces is a cenotaph, before which is kneeling the Earl and Counteſs of Lenox, Charles their ſon, and James VI. their grandſon, with mottoes ſuitable to the idea, that the Queen had occaſioned the death of the King her huſband; it was painted by Levinus Venetianus, or Vogelarius, and is engraved upon a large ſheet by G. Vertue. At Hampton-court, at Caſtle-Braan, and Newbottle *, are alſo painted portraits of him; the ſecond of theſe is a half length upon wood, inſcribed "Henricus Stuardus, "Dominus Darnley, Æt. IX. MDLV.; it repreſents him as a pretty boy, dreſſed in black, with a ſword: the laſt gives him at full length, "tall, awkward, and gawky, with a ſtupid, inſipid countenance; "moſt likely drawn after he had loſt by intemperance and debauch-"ery thoſe charms which captivated the heart of the amorous "Mary." Henry's name was allowed to precede that of the Queen upon the Great Seal and the coins, but ſhe afterwards placed hers firſt, and then intirely omitted it upon both: his effigies are placed upon a large piece of ſilver with hers; his arms, however, were never given with hers in any of the public emblazonments, and when he was inveſted with the order of St. Michael, as the parliament had not allowed him the crown matrimonial, ſhe ordered that he ſhould

* Caſtle-Braan and Newbottle are the ſeats of Lord Fortroſe, and the Marquis of Lothian.

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James, Duke of Orkney, and Earl of Bothwell, third huſband of Queen Mary.

J. Hepburn, deſcended from an ancient family, was the only ſon of Patrick, fourth Earl of Bothwell, by Agnes, daughter of Henry Lord Sinclair*: his eſtates were conſiderable, his retainers numerous, and he was of a bold and daring ſpirit. He made a conſpicuous figure in Scotland from his attaining the age of manhood. In 1559 he ſeized an opportunity of gaining the good opinion of the Queen-regent, though he had early profeſſed the tenets of the reformers; for as Cockburn was returning into Scotland from the court of England with 4000 crowns, which Elizabeth had ſent for the uſe of the congregationiſts, he attacked his party, defeated them, wounded him, diſperſed his men, and gained poſſeſſion of the money. The regent had ſo much confidence in him, that ſhe had appointed him a lieutenant of the marches, which gave him the power of thus ſerving her, and injuring her enemies at the ſame time; and his reſiding at home kept all that turbulent part of the kingdom in quietneſs, as well as prevented the congregationiſts receiving aſſiſtance of men or money from England, whilſt the Queen carried on the ſiege of Leith, in which ſhe was aſſiſted by Lords Seton and Borthwick only. Sanderſon ſays that in the ſame year he ſent to the Duke of Guiſe for more forces to aſſiſt the regent, who complied with his requeſt, but unhappily they were ſhipwrecked upon the coaſt of Holland. In 1561 he paſſed over into France, with many others of the nobility, to pay his duty to his widowed

* The Duke of Orkney had an only ſiſter named Joan, married to John, Prior of Coldingham, a natural ſon of King James V.; and after his death to John, Earl of Caithneſs: by the former ſhe had iſſue; Francis, her eldeſt ſon, was created Earl of Bothwell, and had great eſtates.

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ſovereign: his fidelity to the late Queen-dowager pleaded in his behalf, and his enterpriſing ſpirit was ſo conſpicuous, that it gave him peculiar marks of diſtinction whilſt there. He left that kingdom previous to November 28, at which time he was elated to the greateſt degree with the gracious reception he had met with; and his boldneſs was dreaded by the able Throgmorton, the wiſe miniſter of Elizabeth at that court, who feared perhaps that his own Queen might be injured in her plan of ſwaying Scotland by this young nobleman; ſo the ambaſſador uſes theſe expreſſive words in a letter of his, "the Earl of Bothwell hath made that boaſt that "he will do great things, and live in Scotland in deſpite of all "men. He is a glorious, raſh, and hazardous young man, and "therefore it were meet that his adverſaries ſhould have an eye to "him, and alſo keep him ſhort." But however devoted to his royal miſtreſs he might be, he could not be prevailed upon to depart from his proteſtant principles, or ſubmit to conform to her majeſty's will in the moſt ſlight and trifling matters relative to religion. The year following, as both he and the Earl of Arran were in waiting at the ſame time upon their ſovereign, the mutual injuries they and their clans had done to each other, in the late diſturbances, occaſioned frequent quarrels in the ſtreets, and great danger was apprehended in the city; but happily it was prevented by the mediation of Knox, who made them friends; ſome days after Lord Arran confeſſed to Knox, and afterwards to Murray, that Bothwell and he, with the Hamiltons, had entered into a confederacy to put him and the other favorite miniſters to death, that they might obtain the helm *: but as Arran was much deranged in his mental faculties, many have ſuppoſed that this was only an ideal conſpiracy; however he was confined, yet ſeparately from the others who were accuſed. The vengeance Murray immediately after purſued againſt the Earl of Huntley, and the whole family of Gordon, perhaps ſaved him from deſtruction. Whilſt the Queen was in the north,

* Keith ſays Bothwell was alſo accuſed of including the Queen in the proſcription, but it is not even probable.

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about Aug. 13, he made his escape from the castle of Edinburgh; letting himself down from a window with tow; getting into a vessel he sailed with an intention to escape into France, but was driven upon the English coast. Randolph, April 10, 1563, says to Elizabeth, "The Queen knoweth now that the Earl Bothwell is sent "for to London; I know that she thinketh much, that he is not "sent into Scotland: it is yet greatly doubted, that if he were "there, he would be reserved for an evil instrument: there comes "a vulture in this realm if ever that man come again into credit." By this it is evident that Mary resented Elizabeth's not delivering him up to her, though she rather wished to oppose him against Murray than sacrifice him to her brother's vengeance; and that Randolph knew him a man capable of any crime to promote his ambition. Tired of his exile, in 1564-5, he sent Murray, of Tillibarden, from France, to ask either the permission of returning, or means to live there; but as he was charged with having spoken dishonorably of her majesty, as well as conspired against her ministers, she objected to his recal, except as a criminal, and, as such, summoned him to come and abide a trial; and if he declined it she proclaimed him a rebel. Finding himself under the necessity of starving upon the continent and being declared a rebel, or submit to the laws of his country, he obeyed the Queen's commands: May 3 was appointed for his trial, but as Argyle, the hereditary judge, and Murray, who anxiously wished to have him condemned, and was prosecutor, came with an army of 500 horsemen, their retainers, he durst not surrender himself, as it would have been certain destruction: though condemned for non-appearance, the Queen would not suffer the justices' clerk to prosecute the sentence of outlawry against him, as it would have been a scandal to her government, these, his enemies, being his judge and accuser, and who must have had power to condemn and execute him whether innocent or guilty; yet she did not pardon, but obliged him again to go from whence he came, shewing no partiality to him or his enemies, by letting either of them triumph over those laws of her country which she was unable to enforce. By his courage and liberality he had

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rendered himſelf the darling of the commonalty; under him they had fought and been victorious, of courſe they lamented his baniſhment: Mary did not view him in ſo favorable a light; he had carried on ſome plots againſt her, in concert with Lord Seton, ſo that ſhe ſuffered him again to leave her dominions, and probably he would have remained there for many years, had not a total change taken place in Mary's ſentiments, effected by her paſſion for Lord Darnley; for as Murray, her natural brother, profeſſed the greateſt repugnance to the alliance, from his exceſſive, even perſonal, hatred to that young prince, ſhe determined to recal this Earl and Lord Sutherland to balance their power againſt Murray's, whom they had great reaſon to diſlike; ſo that his having permiſſion to return into Scotland was intirely political, only to effect the marriage ſhe was earneſtly bent to have conſummated between her and Darnley, her relation. However he did not arrive till after their union, landing at Coldingham, in a veſſel, called a Pink, and was admitted into the preſence of his ſovereign and her illuſtrious huſband, both of whom received him with great favor, and appointed him Lieutenant-General of the borders; and October 10 following he was admitted into the Privy Council: about this time the Queen was leading an army, then at Dumfriers, againſt the confederated nobles, the Duke of Chatellerault, and the Earls of Argyle, Murray, and Rothes; "the main battle" was to have been commanded by the King in perſon, whilſt Morton, he, and others attended him; but the rebel peers ſeeing the royal cauſe ſo well ſupported, durſt not keep the field, ſo that the Queen was victorious without a battle; and though he was employed by her majeſty, yet he was not confidentially truſted, for he was too uncomplying to riſe high in her eſtimation, as he ſo ſtrongly oppoſed the public celebration of divine ſervice, according to the liturgy of her church, and which ſhe had ſo much ſet her heart upon; and when ſome had even complied with the Queen's wiſhes in profeſſing the religion of Rome, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all the court in refuſing to aſſiſt in carrying candles in proceſſion upon Candlemas day, 1565-6; this was extremely reſented, as many of the Proteſtants agreed to indulge their ſovereign

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in it: so that, as he was "the stoutest, so he was the worst thought "of," by Mary, of all her court; this raised his popularity still higher with the reformers, who had the greatest opinion of him; and even the seditious Knox, alike virulent against the Queen and her religion, thought so well of him that, whilst he had been an exile in France, he corresponded with him. It is evident therefore that Bothwell was not personally a favorite of Queen Mary, but, on the contrary, no favorite at all: she found him necessary to protect her in the possession of an husband, the object of her tendercst affection, and to shield her from the vindictive violence of her wicked brother; for this reason she dissembled much of her sentiments, knowing the importance his power was of to her, especially as he allied himself to the Earl of Huntly, whose family Murray had so cruelly proscribed: to honor this alliance the marriage was celebrated Feb. 22, with great state; King Henry and Queen Mary attended, and gave the banquet upon the first of the five days the rejoicings continued: justs and tournaments were held, and six gentlemen of Fife were knighted during the solemnity; and a few days afterwards these Earls had a ratification from the parliament of the restitution of their estates. When Queen Elizabeth had named the Earl of Bedford to be her commissioner at a treaty for securing a permanent peace between the two sister kingdoms, he and the Laird of Cesford were nominated for Scotland. Randolph, the English ambassador, represented that he was a very exceptionable person, and therefore his mistress requested her majesty would appoint some other: but she stopped his entreaties, by saying she "hated Bedford as much as Elizabeth did Bothwell," making him therefore the instrument of her revenge to Elizabeth for sending an English nobleman as her representative, whom she had so marked a dislike to. He was at court when the tragedy of Rizzio was acted, upon March 9; resenting the insult offered to Majesty, in a manner the most spirited, it won much upon the Queen's favor: no sooner was he informed of the cause of the disturbance, and that the Queen was a prisoner, than he, with the Earls of Huntley, Athol, Caithness, and Sutherland, the Lords Fleming, Levingston,

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and others, with their attendants, haſted down into the courts of the palace, and attacked Morton and the reſt of the conſpirators, and were quieted by the declaration of Ruthven, who came and aſſured them, that the parliament was prorogued; that the bloody deed had been done with the approbation of the King, and that Murray and the other exiled nobles were making all poſſible ſpeed to join them; adviſing theſe lords to unite with them, and drop all animoſities; exhorting Bothwell to embrace Murray, and Huntley to be reconciled to Argyle: he, and the other loyaliſts, diſſembling, were not treated with harſhneſs: Athol carried his hypocriſy ſo far as to upbraid the aſſaſſins for not admitting him into their number, and aſked leave to retire until the public tranquility was ſettled; his requeſt was agreed to by Ruthven, who then left them, but Bothwell was detained a priſoner. Her majeſty having won over the King to make their eſcape from the palace, the royal pair communicated their intentions to him and Huntley, his brother-in-law; and effecting their deſign, with only three perſons to attend them, they fled to Dunbar, whither Bothwell, accompanied with vaſt number of his vaſſals who flocked to the ſtandard of their chief, came, and offered his aſſiſtance to the Queen againſt all her enemies. His power and popularity in that part of the kingdom was extreme, ſo that the conſpirators, finding her forces hourly increaſe, retired into England, whilſt her majeſty returned through Haddington to Edinburgh, where eighty of the diſaffected citizens, who had taken poſſeſſion of the palace court after Rizzio's murder, were arraigned; only two of whom, and thoſe the moſt obnoxious, were executed, owing to his having intereſted for, and obtained the pardon of ſome of the others, when they were at the foot of the gallows. However high he might ſtand in the good opinion of his ſovereign at this time, yet he had reaſon to dread the admiſſion of Murray and ſome others of his enemies at court, who had received the royal pardon, that they might ſtrengthen her ſo much as to bring the infamous aſſaſſins to juſtice, not even ſuppoſing that her brother was, whilſt abſent, one of the great inſtigators of that inhuman action: to effect what ſhe ſo earneſtly deſired, ſhe invited

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all the contending chiefs that were about her perſon to a ſumptuous entertainment, when making herſelf the arbitratreſs of their quarrels, ſhe prevailed upon thm to promiſe that a total oblivion ſhould take place of all the ſubjects of complaint between Argyle, Murray, Glencairn, and Huntley; Athol and Bothwell; and for his farther ſecurity, Maitland, who had been accuſed by ſome of his retainers of a deſign to poiſon him, to prevent a worſe fate, petitioned for leave to go to Flanders. Now conſtantly about the perſon of the Queen, and in full poſſeſſion of her confidence, he ſtudied how he might render himſelf pleaſing to her majeſty, by the moſt obſequious attentions, and he had qualifications for doing this that few of the other noblemen could pretend do; he reſtored to her many of thoſe diſſipations which had ſo greatly pleaſed her at Paris. The condeſcenſions of ſovereigns is ſo faſcinating, that few are able to bear their good fortune with a decent moderation; the ill conduct of the King, and her liſtening to the gay pleaſures he was conſtantly inventing to oblige her, made him reſign himſelf up to the moſt pleaſing dreams of grandeur; and though both their marriages muſt be broke through previous to the accompliſhing his aim, yet ambition ſees no bar to ſtop her career. It cannot be doubted, but that his firſt project was to obtain the Queen's conſent to a divorce, and then to gain one for himſelf, a practice in thoſe times common; but when he found her majeſty, in a conference ſhe held with her nobles, abſolutely declined any ſeparation of that kind from the King, her huſband, he determined to effect that part of his ſcheme by other, and more deſperate projects. I cannot do better than give from Dr. Stuart the ſituation he was then in with reſpect to his ſovereign, and his general character: "What "chiefly endeared him to Mary was the ſupport he had afforded "her againſt the murderers of David Rizzio; it was by his means, "in a great meaſure, that ſhe was enabled to recover her import- "ance, and to chaſe them out of the kingdom. Her gratitude "to him was exceſſive; and he improved the favorable impreſſions "he had made with increaſing courteſy and attention. By her "favor he roſe to exerciſe all the power of government; and to

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" this diſtinction he was little entitled, either by his abilities or " his virtues: he was inſenſible to glory*, unſuſceptible of pa- " triotiſm, and unpracticed in buſineſs; a boundleſs love of power, " a fearleſs corruption, and a riotous prodigality were his charac- " teriſtics. In public and in private life he was equally unprinci- " led; his natural diſpoſitions led him into improper courſes, and " habitude fortified him in them. He could ſcheme the moſt cri- " minal enterprizes, and was deſperate enough to put them in " execution. He ſported with religion, honor, and probity. In " proſperity he was inſolent, in misfortune fawning. A poliſhed " exterior rendered his vices more dangerous. He was in the " prime and vigor of life, and his perſon and behavior were at- " tracting. A paſſion for pleaſure involved him in intrigues and " gallantry. A taſte for trifles, elegance of addreſs, and ſoftneſs " of manners, ſo alluring to women of every condition, height- " ened the complaiſance with which they naturally ſurvey the im- " perfections of the voluptuous. But while he was prone to every " folly, and to every crime, and was anxious to perpetuate his " diſtinctions and enjoyments, his eager and narrow policy did not " permit him to ſee into conſequences and futurity. To eſtabliſh " himſelf in greatneſs he was ready to perpetrate whatever is moſt " flagitious, and could think, without emotion, of treachery, " poiſon, and the dagger; but he was incapable to ſecure the ad- " vantages and profit of his wickedneſs. The Earl of Murray, " whom he wiſhed to employ, as a ladder, to advance him to " grandeur, penetrating into his character, availed himſelf of it, " and he was utterly overthrown by a man whoſe ambition was not " leſs extravagant, but whoſe abilities, diſſimilation, and refine- " ment were more tranſcendant and profound." The times were martial; Mary, though excelling in all the luxurious delicacy of her ſex when in the drawing room, affected in the field the proweſs of her anceſtors, the Kings of Scotland. Bothwell muſt have

* Bothwell, I think, cannot be ſaid to have been inſenſible to glory; the ſubſequent part of his hiſtory, as well as the preceding, evince to the contrary.

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ſhone in theſe reſpects; more delicate and refined in his manners, yet none could equal him in the moſt hardy amuſements, or raſh valor in the field of battle; whilſt tilts and tournaments were held, he rode with vaſt ſpeed down Calton Hill, near Edinburgh, and broke into the ring, from the dangerous ſteeps into the deep and wide hollow at the bottom of it, where theſe ſolemnities were held. This riſk of his neck equally ſurprized and pleaſed his royal miſtreſs; ſuch feats of chivalry were not unknown in France, for the Duc de Nemours galloped down the ſteps of the Sainte Chappel at Paris, to the aſtoniſhment of all. More ſerious, but not leſs hazardous, enterprizes ſoon engaged his attention; the Earl of Morton ſtill continued in England, exciting commotions upon the borders of his own country; it was neceſſary therefore to repreſs his inſolence. As Lord Lieutenant of the Marches it was his poſt of honor to defend that part of the kingdom; he was accordingly ſent thither to command the loyal ſubjects, and in a few days Mary went to Jedburgh, to hold the juſtice courts for the trial of traitors and other diſorderly perſons; ſhe was attended thither by the Earls of Murray, Huntley, Athol, Rothes, and Caithneſs; the Lords Levingſton, Arbroth, Seton, Yeſter, Borthwick, and Somerville, with many other freeholders and gentlemen. Whilſt here, Bothwell was doing all he could to bring the borders into perfect order and quietneſs; the Elliots were peculiarly troubleſome; their depredations were the more obnoxious to government, as they, the Laird of Ceſford, Warden of the middle Marches, Buccleugh, one of the moſt powerful Barons in thoſe parts, and the Lords Maxwell and Hume, were in league with the Engliſh and Morton; he reſolved therefore to bring them to ſubmiſſion; but in a ſkirmiſh he had with them in Liddeſdale, he had the misfortune to be wounded in ſeveral parts of the body, though only ſlightly, yet it obliged him to be conveyed by his attendants to his caſtle of Hermitage. The Queen hearing of this, ſet off from Jedburgh in October, and honored him with a viſit, though it was eighteen Scotch miles, and the weather inclement; but ſhe prided herſelf upon acting the part of a fair amazonian, deſpiſing every danger

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from climate, mountains, or moraſſes. So great an attention muſt have gratified that vanity, which was one of his moſt ruling paſſions; but Mary acted politically in her attention to a great and loyal peer, as it muſt have encouraged others to be prodigal of their blood in the ſervice of ſo grateful a ſovereign; beſides, ſhe thought him then the moſt devoted to her ſervice, from a dutiful regard to her perſon, of any of her nobility; and as the inſurgents againſt whom he had been ſent, hating him for his inſolence, had vowed that they would live and die with Ceſford, but withſtand him, declaring they would not yield to any other than the Queen in perſon, it became abſolutely neceſſary to ſhew herſelf there, and to give him inſtructions in what manner he ſhould purſue the object for which he was ſent; and then having, we may ſuppoſe, taken ſome refreſhment, ſtaying with him a few hours, ſhe returned to Jedburgh. This viſit has been looked upon by the enemies of Mary as the conſequence of a criminal paſſion for him; but there is no reaſon whatever to believe ſuch, for when ſhe felt that regard for Darnley, which was ſo ardent, ſhe watched him during an illneſs with a fond ſolicitude that was almoſt incompatible with the dignity of an unmarried Queen; beſides, too, both ſhe and Elizabeth, her ſiſter ſovereign, uſed conſtantly to pay viſits to their nobility, and ſometimes thoſe of condolence, without an idea of indelicacy: the ſhortneſs of her ſtay, the dignity and number of perſons in her ſuite, all forbid the thought of any thing imprudent in her conduct; on the contrary, ſhe deſerved the higheſt commendation, though the fatigue of the journey, and oppreſſion of ſpirit for the ill behavior ſhe experienced from the King, cauſed her to have an illneſs that was ſo very ſevere, that it long threatened her life; which had been an happineſs had it terminated then, for the remainder of her days were a continual and never-ceaſing ſorrow. Bothwell ſaw that the King's ill conduct would lead to ſome momentous concluſion; the ſoothing tenderneſs of Mary, which at times ſhe uſed to "lure the taſſel gentle back again," was as vain as the able remonſtrances of the French ambaſſador; the more reluctant Henry was to return to the arms of the Queen, the more

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ſhe ſtood in need of the ſervices, the attentions of her courtiers; and he was in ſuch eſtimation with her, that had ſhe liſtened to the voice of her miniſters at Craigmiller to obtain a divorce, and he had been unmarried, there is little doubt but ſhe would have given her hand to him in preference to any other of her ſubjects: but her intereſt, united with duty, with returning love, forbade her to think of any ſeparation; her whole behavior evinces how highly ſhe prized Bothwell as a ſervant ever after Rizzio's death. Vehement in her paſſions, and incautious and undiſguiſed, ſhe laid herſelf open to her politic enemies, who deſignedly conſtrued all her free Gallican manners towards her ſervants as acts of a criminal levity; and perhaps gave a preſumption to ſome that otherwiſe would never have dared to think of her, but as one ſo exalted as to preclude all poſſibility of obtaining her. Bothwell was the foremoſt to hope; and to ſtrengthen his plan, he prevailed upon Mary to pardon Morton, and his aſſociates in Rizzio's death, though ſhe had refuſed all applications from any one elſe; this was laying all thoſe of his party, as well as himſelf, under ſo vaſt an obligation, that he ſuppoſed they would have been devoted to him; his aſcendancy in all the councils was prodigious, and he even bent to Mary's anxious wiſhes of having the public exerciſe of her religion, by giving a toleration to all her Roman Catholic ſubjects.

The Queen ſeemed now in the full poſſeſſion of all her royal prerogatives, and the ſeveral parties, each of whom had been deficient in their duty to her, and diſobedient to the laws of their country, had all in their turn been brought to ſubmiſſion, and pardoned; but their ſubmiſſion was as inſincere as the mutual regard they profeſſed for each other; the permanent union of Henry and Mary would ſo have ſtrengthened the royal cauſe, that they could not hope to eſcape any farther diſturbances that their unquietneſs might raiſe; that averſion each harbored againſt the other, and their equal ſtrength, kept them from coming to an open violence; they deſpiſed the King, they feared the Queen, and all united in hating her moſt confidential miniſter, Bothwell, who, in his turn, loſt all

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the little prudence nature had beſtowed upon him, in giving up to the wild chimera of uniting himſelf to his ſovereign; and theſe execrable characters, when they ſaw returning love come to bleſs her and her ſubjects, in defiance of every thing that can be ſacred amongſt men, entered into a conſpiracy againſt the life of the young inexperienced King, at the moment when he had given the leaſt hopes of ever poſſeſſing honor or prudence. Bothwell, it was agreed, ſhould marry the Queen as ſoon as he was taken off; but Murray and Morton had a deeper ſcheme; they made him the oſtenſible inſtrument of this unparalleled villainy, and then deſigned to accuſe the Queen as participating with him in it; ſo that they ſhould rid themſelves of all thoſe characters which ſtood between them and the abſolute government of the kingdom, whilſt they would have all the advantage they could wiſh for, by being thought the avenger of the unhappy King, and the true friends of the kingdom. This ſcheme was ſo deeply laid, and by men ſo artful and crafty, that it was carried into effect; many joined either to ruin him and the Queen, and to build their fortunes upon their fall, or hoped to ſhare their confidence when done. Henry therefore fell, and Bothwell, though his murderer, was ſtill received openly at court, though he was accuſed by the people, and at laſt by the Earl of Lenox, the ſorrowing father; but ſo many were acceſſary, approvers, or perſons fearful of ſtepping forth, that he ventured to abide an open trial, but ſurrounded with a numerous train of vaſſals, with a conſiderable body of hired ſoldiers; few choſe to be principals in bringing ſo powerful a ſubject to juſtice; the Queen wholly abſorbed in grief and conſternation, her miniſters equally guilty, found it their intereſt to prevent his condemnation, leſt they alſo ſhould have been included in his ſentence; and the proſecutor, Lenox, intimidated by the power of his adverſary, did not appear at his trial, which the miniſters took care ſhould be informal, by flaws in the indictment; he therefore was acquitted, April 12, 1567, by his Judges, perſons of the higheſt rank, and of as great integrity as any in the kingdom; Lenox in vain proteſting againſt the haſtineſs of a trial he had urged, blaming

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a want of expedition, and reprobating the idea of a culprit of such enormity being at large. In England the plea would have been just; but in Scotland a greater degree of latitude was given to persons who were accused, and there too crimes were held in less abhorrence than in most other countries, owing to the want of energy in the sovereign power to put the laws in execution; nor did the unhappy parent suppose that the four assessors to the chief justicier "were the warm and strenuous friends to the Earl of Murray," equally guilty in planning the murder; and that Morton, who stood by Bothwell, was another of the regicides of his son. Whatever infamy may fall upon the ministers, Mary's conduct in this shameful perversion of justice is free from blame; but had she acted with that promptitude which the occasion required, instead of sinking into all the wretchedness of unavailing woe, she had displayed the abandoned wickedness of all those nearest her throne, and by their punishment freed herself from false and perfidious friends, and from secret enemies that nothing could satisfy, but involving her in a ruin as decided as that of her late husband. Lenox loudly complained of what he ought to have foreseen would have been the effect of his precipitancy and indecisiveness; as to the people, they having seen Henry stripped of every elegant ornament in dress, every comfortable accommodation of a person of rank, whilst Bothwell outvied all in the splendor of his equipage, were not greatly surprised that he was acquitted of the murder of one who had been so little valued; all the nice parts of the transaction were hid from their view; they were well convinced of his guilt, but they could not judge of the etiquette of their courts of law; they did not suspect his equally guilty associates; a satisfaction had not been made to the manes of the dead, which justice demanded; they, as is usual in such cases, supposed there must have been some most obvious reason for skreening the person they alone judged his murderer: and the subsequent transactions, from the bold villainy of Bothwell, the incaution of Mary, and the infamous duplicity of Murray, Morton, and Lethington, established the opinion of the Queen's collusion with Bothwell.

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This infamous culprit eſcaping thus, was emboldened to continue about the perſon of his ſovereign, and the Parliament, by the procurement of the conſpirators, ſolemnly adjudged his acquittal juſt; the diſcerning, however, were no better ſatisfied with his innocence by this, than they had been by his trial, or his challenging to ſingle combat any who dared to accuſe him; yet the Parliament, regardleſs of all decency, ratified to him the office of keeper of the caſtle of Dunbar, with the eſtates depending upon it: many of the Peers, with Murray and Morton, experienced the royal favors. The public mind, ſtill diſſatisfied, did not ceaſe from accuſing him; his features appeared in placarts, ſtuck up in the ſtreets; and Mary was alſo ſtigmatized: the Parliament in vain denounced the moſt exemplary puniſhment againſt traitors and villifiers of the characters of the nobles and princes of the land.

Secure in the confidence of his wicked colleagues, he proceeded with his plan; he invited the firſt characters in the kingdom, April 19, 1567, generally called the "Ainſlie ſupper;" wine circulated very faſt, the company were put in good humour, and he took that opportunity of producing a bond, recommending himſelf as a proper huſband for the Queen, with a promiſe or engagement annexed, that they who ſigned it would protect him in the completion of his wiſhes againſt all manner of people: this was probably done as if Mary had conſented to what ſhe appears to have known nothing of; the gueſts, inſtead of taking the alarm, acceded with readineſs to the propoſition, and the following day ſubſcribed it; at the head of them was Murray, and his example was followed by eight of her ſpiritual, and many of her temporal, peers, beſides great commoners; no expreſſions were wanting to ſet forth his merit to the much-injured Queen; none to exculpate him from every ſuſpicion of the murder of the King, and promiſing him to enforce the union with all their powers, and at the riſk of their lives and fortunes. No language could be uſed more to impoſe upon Mary, if ſhe would comply with their warmeſt wiſhes;

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and this they did as they ſhould anſwer to God, promiſing the utmoſt fidelity to her and her government, ſolemnly declaring, that if they did not perform their engagements, that they would be content to enjoy for the future no reputation or credit, and to be holden as moſt unworthy and faithleſs traitors.

So far was Mary from even being privy to this tranſaction, that ſhe appears not to have known it, until both Scotland and England were alarmed at the infamous deſign; and therefore, when upbraided with the intention of giving her hand to him, ſhe appeared ſurpriſed and diſpleaſed, proteſting that ſhe had no ſuch intentions. The time was not ripe for his nefarious intentions to be effected, but which he put in practice when the Parliament was diſſolved, and her majeſty was removing to Sterling, to viſit the Prince, her ſon, and whom it was very probable ſhe wiſhed to have the care of, as a ſecurity for her perſon. To ſtrengthen her own feeble authority, levied a thouſand horſe, as if to keep the borders in quietneſs, as his duty obliged him to do; but he made theſe men the inſtruments to effect a very different project; for with them, April 24, 1567, he ſurpriſed the defenceleſs Mary in her return to her capital, ſent away her attendants, and conducted her to his caſtle of Dunbar; ſuch an outrage from a ſubject, and one who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his obſequiouſneſs, called forth all the indignant rage that inſulted majeſty could feel; humble, yet firm, he let her vent all the paſſions ſhe was moved with, and then offered in excuſe unbounded regard, ſuch as involuntarily pervades the human breaſt, and which in him had been ſo great, that it forced him to break through every tie that duty held ſacred; he then alſo pleaded the political neceſſity for their union, urging the bond, which he produced, as ſhewing her the opinion of her greateſt and many of her moſt loyal ſubjects. She was reſolved to withſtand the ſtratagems laid for her; but he, finding that certain deſtruction awaited him if ſhe did not comply, from intreaties turned to threats, declaring he would marry her, whatever oppoſition he ſhould meet with from

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her or any other; her reſolution drove him to deſperation, for, unmindful of horror, he added one ſin more to the murder he had perpetrated, in deſtroying the King, by raviſhing his widow; bitter muſt have been the reproaches of the diſhonored Queen, to make him attempt to put an end to his miſerable exiſtence; however, though the wound was ſevere, it was not fatal, and with returning ſtrength he regained his intrepidity in wickedneſs. He had induced thoſe who ſigned the bond to think the Queen was by no means diſſatisfied with his pretenſions, and had told Melvil, and thoſe whom he had ſent away when he had ſeized her majeſty, that ſhe was acquainted with and agreeable to his deſign: ſo that her ſubjects, loſt in aſtoniſhment, looked on with ſilent indignation, and left her to what they judged an infatuation that nothing could excuſe, whilſt the traitors who had planned this ſcheme were ſecretly rejoicing at the ſucceſs of their deep-laid villainy.

Taking advantage of the confounded bewildered Queen, who had no one's advice to rely upon, and unable now to exert that fortitude ſhe had eſteemed in her father, and had attempted to copy, he prevailed upon her to agree to what ſhe weakly ſuppoſed would reſtore her to liberty, and as the only means of freeing her reputation from the diſhonor he had put upon her, or rather extorted, her conſent to their marriage. The firſt ſtep to effect this, was to procure a divorce from his Counteſs, Lady Jane Gordon, whoſe marriage the Queen had graced with her preſence only ſix months before; the plea to obtain it was conſanguinity, and without any diſpenſation, and adultery on his part, he therefore urged the former in the court of the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's; and his wife, by the perſuaſion of the Earl of Huntley, her brother, inſtituted a ſuit againſt him in the court of commiſſaries, accuſing him of criminality with one of her attendants; no oppoſition being made, the courts paſſed the ſentence of divorce.

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For twelve days he detained the ill-fated Mary, and then led her to Edinburgh; but as guilt is ever cowardly, he durſt not take her to the palace of Holyrood Houſe, but remained with her in the caſtle; he even held her horſe by the bridle as he conveyed her thither: but as juſt exceptions would be taken to their union if ſhe was ſuppoſed under reſtraint, he produced her in the court of ſeſſion, in the preſence of the chancellor, the preſident, judges, and many other perſons of rank; here ſhe expreſſed her uneaſineſs that her detention had impeded the adminiſtration of juſtice, and then told thoſe preſent that ſhe had been greatly diſpleaſed at the indecent violence ſhe had ſuffered; but from the reſpectful attention ſhe had ſince received from him, ſhe meant to pardon both him and thoſe who had aſſiſted in her diſgrace, eſpecially as his former ſervices had been extremely meritorious; concluding, that ſhe was now at full liberty, and as a mark of her particular regard, ſhe would honor him with ſtill higher titles than he at preſent poſſeſſed. What a ſcene was this! How ſunk was Mary, the ſovereign of Scotland, who had once partook of the throne of France! Her warmeſt partizans muſt bluſh for her; death, or what had been worſe, perpetual impriſonment, had been far, far preferable. Had ſhe turned her indignation at this moment againſt her raviſher, vengeance might have almoſt inſtantly overtook him; and her contemporaries, as well as poſterity, would have been unanimous in praiſing, in applauding her. She was no longer the high-ſpirited Mary; ſhe felt her diſhonor, and it debaſed her mind. Princes of royal, of imperial deſcent could no more ſolicit that hand which all had ſtrove to gain, and ſhe ſunk under the greatneſs of her calamities, and deigned to ſeek protection from the moſt depraved of her own ſubjects.

In May he obtained a grant of the earldom of Orkney, and the lordſhip of Schetland; the former was erected into a dukedom, and all the royalties they contained were conveyed to him, ſo that he had a moſt valuable addition, both to his dignity and poſſeſſions;

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and probably he choſe theſe iſlands, that he might, if in danger from the conſtant revolutions Scotland was agitated with, retire to them, and fortify himſelf, ſo as to withſtand the moſt powerful confederacy againſt him. There remained nothing now but to obtain the hand of his ſovereign; it was then uſual to aſk all perſons by bans previous to marriage; the Proteſtant divines unwillingly conſented, but Mr. John Craig, one of the miniſters of Edinburgh, who was pitched upon to do it, had the honeſty to declare his repugnance, and to avow the wickedneſs of the intended union, as there had been a ſeparation from adultery, and this too by the colluſion of the parties. Think what painful ſenſations this muſt occaſion, as it was openly ſaid before a numerous and moſt ſplendid congregation! He had even the courage to vindicate his conduct when called upon by the privy council. This moſt diſgraceful marriage was performed the 15th of that month, when Q. Mary was twenty-five years of age, and only three months after the violent death of the King; the celebration of it was in the great hall in Holyrood Houſe, where the council uſed to ſit, and not in the chapel, where her former marriage had taken place; the ceremony was performed according to the Roman Catholic manner, and alſo in the reformed way; the former moſt privately, but the latter, to gain popularity, publicly, and Adam Bothwell, his brother, who had renounced the errors of the Romiſh church, and been made Biſhop of Orkney, was the perſon employed upon the occaſion, and ſhe ſubmitted alſo to hear a Proteſtant ſermon, that it might the more recommend her to the people; and indeed every art was neceſſary to make it palatable. Scotland, England, and France were alike ſurpriſed and diſpleaſed; ſhe injured herſelf in the eyes of all her friends, and her enemies made it a plea to publicly accuſe her of K. Henry's murder. Fatal prognoſtications were in the gloomineſs of the few who had attended the marriage; the abſence of moſt of the grandees and of the French ambaſſador, who could not prevail upon themſelves to honor it with their preſence, and by the ſullen diſguſt of the people; a ſettled cloud hung over the fate

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of the diſgraced, fallen Mary, and ſhe felt it in all its keenneſs. It is wonderful how ſhe could prevail upon herſelf to be united to ſo unprincipled a profligate, or indeed to aſſociate with ſuch a character, whoſe mouth was defiled with the moſt obſcene language, who gloried in the moſt criminal exceſſes, and who had been ſo openly accuſed of the murder of the King, her huſband. Had ſhe reſolutely withſtood his threats when he had committed a violence upon her perſon, and called upon her nobles to bring the daring culprit to juſtice, ſhe had vindicated her honor in ſuch a way, that it would have ſilenced calumny, and all Europe would have looked upon her as the moſt injured of Princeſſes; her loyal ſubjects would have beheld her with the tendereſt compaſſion, and the wickedneſs planned againſt her had moſt probably been detected, and the unprincipled junto who had laid it had been brought to that puniſhment their crimes ſo juſtly deſerved; and ſo far would this have been from preventing her marrying again to ſome illuſtrious perſonage, that it would have been the only means that could have ſecured her an advantageous alliance; we muſt, however, make many allowances for her ſituation; ſeemingly deſerted by her ſubjects, in the power of a daring profligate, and unknowing but ſhe might bring into the world a child that muſt be deemed illegitimate, and thus proclaim a violence that the modeſty of her ſex would make her wiſh to hide from the public eye.

The nuptials effected, the new-married couple endeavoured to obtain a bond of confederation to ſupport and protect them; it was coldly received, and ſoon after the nobility united, not to ſupport, but to bring him to condign puniſhment; he was almoſt without an adherent. Mary ſoon felt the ſad effects of her miſconduct, for ſhe had neither honor nor domeſtic peace in the alliance; the nation deemed themſelves inſulted by ſuch a monſter poſſeſſing their ſovereign; and inſtead of his treating her with the endearments of a fond huſband, he often broke out into the moſt inſult-

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ing behavior, which overwhelmed her with the moſt lively grief: this, with the other indignities ſhe ſuffered, made her health decline, and ſhe often had violent burſts of paſſions and tears; and once ſhe called for a knife to put a period to an exiſtence he had rendered truly wretched. Bothwell's ſituation proved to him how fallacious the moſt flattering ſchemes become, when their foundations are laid in artful wickedneſs; for though by his means the ſplendor of the court was dazzling, yet he found it impracticable to break in upon the reſtrictions Mary had ſtipulated for; that he ſhould not have any power to act, or have any appointment, unleſs ſhe acceded to it; nor could he obtain the cuſtody of the Prince, whoſe fate certainly would have depended upon his intereſt, either to ſave or deſtroy him. His conduct was ſo infamous, that Britain and France dreaded the ſafety of the infant; and the odium with which he was branded fell in ſome meaſure upon the Queen, eſpecially, as both at home and abroad Murray and his aſſociates artfully inſinuated that the crimes of Bothwell were alſo thoſe of the Queen; by theſe means ſo great a ſtorm was raiſed, that inevitable ruin ſeemed the certain conſequence. The aſſociated nobles flew to arms, the royal proclamations were treated with contempt; fearful of a ſurprizal in the capital, as he was conſcious that Sir James Balfour, deputy governor, had been gained over by their enemies, he fled with the Queen to the caſtle of Bothwell, whither they were purſued by Lord Hume; however, they were fortunate enough to eſcape from thence to Dunbar. Whilſt here the plaineſt avowals were made, by proclamations publiſhed by the confederates, of his guilt, and of what it was ſuſpected he deſigned farther to do: ever raſh and precipitate, he collected an army, and placed the Queen at the head of it, though his intereſt was to have remained where he was, and where he could have defied all the powers of the diſaffected nobles; and their followers, ever willing and anxious to return, would have broke up, and then he might have brought Mary back to the capital with eaſe: but in attempting to do it, by oppoſing an army to theirs, he diſcovered his miſtake when

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too late, for coming to Carberry Hill, June 15, 1567, he found that his forces were inferior to the enemy, both in number and energy. He was conſcious of this, and to parry it, according to the romantic cuſtom of the age, he challenged to ſingle combat any who ſhould accuſe him of taking away the life of K. Henry; but when both the gallant Kircaldy and Murray were willing to accept the challenge, he meanly declined it, under pretence that neither of them were noblemen. Lord Lindſay, with impatience, expreſſed a deſire to engage him, and when no objection could be taken to his Lordſhip, Mary expreſſly commanded them to deſiſt; the royal troops ſlunk away, aſhamed of their general, and the French ambaſſador not having the power to obtain a reconciliation, the Queen was obliged to ſubmit to truſt her perſon to the nobles in arms againſt her, the leaders of whom violated every principle of honor, every degree of humanity in their future conduct to her; but as to him, with whom they had been equally guilty of all the enormities juſtly laid to his charge, they artfully promiſed not to oppoſe his departure. Kircaldy, taking him by the hand, ſolemnly promiſed him, that if he would retire with a ſingle ſervant, no one ſhould moleſt or purſue him, ſo fearful were they of bringing him to a fair trial, leaſt his condemnation ſhould lead to a diſcovery of their guilt; in this the Queen joined Kircaldy, and intreated him to ſeek his ſafety in flight. "Overwhelmed with ſhame, diſap-"pointment, terror, remorſe, and deſpair, this miſerable victim "of ambition and guilt turned his eyes to the Queen for the laſt "time," whom he loſt without reſiſtance, after a union of only one month; ſo ſoon vaniſhed all his greatneſs, purchaſed by ſo many and ſuch great crimes: not daring to truſt himſelf with his retainers at Lydeſdale, where his family eſtates lay, he eſcaped to Dunbar. The nobles who had dethroned the Queen ſent heralds and meſſengers at arms to command the perſon who had the charge of Dunbar Caſtle to ſubmit to their authority; at the ſame time a thouſand crowns were offered to any who ſhould bring Bothwell to Edinburgh, whom they accuſed as the murderer of K. Henry,

and all were forbidden to give him any aſſiſtance whatever; yet they cautiouſly avoided going againſt him, as not deſirous of having him produced in public, fearing their own villainy ſhould be openly expoſed; and the more ſo, as one of them whom they brought to puniſhment for Henry's death, aſſerted his innocence, exculpated the Queen, but ſolemnly declared that Murray and Morton were the contrivers of the regicide, and this too juſt as he was going to be launched into eternity. As it was the intereſt of all parties to let him eſcape, he was ſuffered to remain at Dunbar twenty-one days, and then taking advantage of his office of high admiral of the kingdom, he left it on the ninth day of the month, and putting to ſea, was landed in Murray. Here, though he was proſcribed, his great uncle, Patrick Hepburn, the Biſhop of that ſee, received him at his palace of Spinie; the prelate, no doubt, felt for the misfortunes of ſo near a relative, whom he had educated; by his countenance, therefore, he was viſited by many of the gentry of that part of the kingdom; however, the Lords Seton and Fleming deſerted him, and the Lords at Edinburgh ſo highly reſented the Biſhop's conduct, that they forbade his tenants paying him any rent. Bothwell was enabled, notwithſtanding their endeavours to the contrary, to obtain four or five ſmall ſhips, with which he did conſiderable injury to thoſe of Scotland; out of them he procured whatever he wanted to furniſh and ſtore his own with, and ſet ſail for the Orkney iſlands, purpoſing to go to Kirkwall, in Mainland, the largeſt of them, and where there was a ſtrong caſtle; but Gilbert Balfour, copying the perfidy of his brother, Sir James, refuſed to receive him, though he had been appointed governor by the unhappy fugitive. The council, enraged at his depredations upon the ſhipping of the ſubjects, iſſued out a proclamation, Auguſt 10, directing both men and ſhips to be made ready immediately at Dundee to purſue him; but leaving the Orkneys, he paſſed to Shetland iſle, which he reached about the middle of that month, and where Fogge, the principal perſon, intereſted himſelf in his favor, and by whom he was enabled to oppoſe the ſquadron ſent againſt him. It is plain that the artful Murray,

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appointed Regent of the kingdom under the Prince, who had been crowned, wiſhed to have him ſeized and put to death in that diſtant part of the Scotch dominions; it would have been eaſy to have ſuppreſſed any thing that might have laid open his own and his accomplices' guilt; and the better to effect this, Sir Will. Murray, and Kircaldy, of Grange, had a commiſſion "to fence, and hold "courts of juſtice whereſoever they ſhould think good." But though they ſurprized his ſquadron, and took three of his ſhips, yet he eſcaped, and finding no other reſource, he lived in a piratical manner; but happening to ſeize a Turkiſh ſhip trading upon the Norway coaſt, the court of Denmark diſpatched two ſhips of war in purſuit of him, who obliged him to ſubmit; the Daniſh monarch, exaſperated at the depredations committed upon ſhips trading to his kingdoms, condemned the crew to that death which all civilized nations paſs upon ſea robbers. This wretched nobleman, the huſband of a ſovereign, was unwilling to have his ſhame and diſgrace proclaimed, but was deſirous to hide it, by ſharing an ignominious death with his ſailors; but even this conſolation was denied him, for ſome Scotch merchants ſaw and recollected him; but he eſcaped the gibbet only to linger out his life in a loathſome dungeon, without a ſingle comfort. In 1567 the Parliament of Scotland expreſſed their opinion that there were new proofs, ſufficiently clear, of his having taken off the King, and, without examination, attainted him, and confiſcated his eſtates; a practice that had diſgraced the reign of Henry VIII. and which ought always to be reprobated. It is ſaid that the Regent demanded him; but the King of Denmark refuſed to deliver him up, regarding him as a culprit to the laws of his own dominions. It is more than poſſible that the crafty Murray privately aſſured the Daniſh monarch, that he ſhould be better pleaſed to have him detained where he was, and might pay the King for complying with his wiſhes; for what gratification could it be to Denmark to keep ſuch a man in priſon; why not do an act of juſtice to herſelf, and ſave trouble in ſacrificing the criminal? In this miſerable ſituation he lay unpitied, and in general unnoticed; and notwithſtanding

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what the enemies of Mary have pretended, it is moſt reaſonable to ſuppoſe the ſeverity of his fate was not felt by her, more than a ſlight compaſſion. His crimes againſt K. Henry, which ſhe muſt have been ſoon ſatisfied of, the violence ſhe had experienced before, and his cruel treatment after her marriage with him, muſt have ſhocked her as a chriſtian, a lady, and a Queen; innumerable were the indignities he put upon her, "and he was ſo beaſtly and "ſuſpicious, that he ſuffered her not to paſs one day in patience, "without making her ſhed abundance of tears." She had not even bade him a ſingle adieu, when they parted at Carberry Hill; and ſhe often applied for and wiſhed to have a divorce from him, whilſt ſhe was in Scotland and England; and even held herſelf ſo far free from any matrimonial connection with him, that ſhe liſtened to the addreſſes of Don John of Auſtria, and the Duke of Norfolk*, during the life-time of Bothwell; but it was ſcarce poſſible for her to throw off this union with him whilſt ſhe was a

* Mary, whilſt a lonely priſoner, and even during the life-time of Bothwell, entertained ideas of marrying again. Don John of Auſtria, the natural ſon of the Emperor Charles V. hoped to reſtore her to and ſhare the throne with her. The Duke of Norfolk a long time carried on a negociation of marriage with her, and ſhe was deſirous of it; for he was the richeſt ſubject in Europe, and the moſt popular nobleman in England; but it coſt him his head—ſo unfortunate were all Mary's ſchemes of happineſs. To thoſe unacquainted with the manners of thoſe times, the letters ſhe wrote to this great peer will ſeem extremely indelicate. The Earl of Shrewſbury, who had the cuſtody of this Queen many of the firſt years of her captivity in England, was thought to have rendered himſelf "peculiarly agree-"able" to his royal priſoner; but this was only popular ſcandal. Mary was thought incapable of living without an intrigue; her Gallican education, more than her conſtitution, probably gave riſe to this, but which the ſuppoſed criminality with Bothwell eſtabliſhed. The idea of common fame is ſeldom to be truſted; the Counteſs of Shrewſbury, a haughty and rich beauty, it is known had her jealouſies, but it does not appear that ſhe had any room for them, except the Earl's ſoftening the hard fate of degraded majeſty as much as was conſiſtent with the fidelity he owed his own ſovereign. He attended Mary's execution, but we may ſuppoſe with reluctance. In the inſcription upon his magnificent monument in the old church in Sheffield, is a vindication of his conduct towards the Scottiſh Queen; he died May 18, 1590. I have ſeen the leaden coffin in which his body was; it is made ſomewhat in the human form, and his titles are upon it.

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priſoner; and her ſubjects, who thought her honor and that of the nation ſo greatly injured by the marriage, when ſhe requeſted them to examine it, and if not legal to pronounce it void, only replied, if ſhe wanted to have it diſſolved, they would recommend her to write to the King of Denmark to put him to death. Thus abandoned of all, he was left to ſolitude and wretchedneſs, which having ſuffered for nearly ten years, he died in 1575, totally deprived of underſtanding, which was a bleſſing, for memory muſt have been a torment. He drew out and ſigned a full relation of the murder of K. Henry; but it going through the hands of ſome of the other regicides, it was never ſuffered to appear, but in a garbled ſtate. Camden, whom it is well known had the beſt intelligence of Mary's hiſtory, avers that Bothwell moſt ſolemnly proteſted that the Queen was in no degree privy to the murder of the King, her huſband. I have been the more particular in relating the particulars of Bothwell's life, that it may forcibly evince how ſhort all the honors and poſſeſſions of this world often are, when purchaſed by crimes, and what a fate awaits the poor ſelf-deceivers; how exquiſitely do they feel! He is one of the numerous inſtances that preſent themſelves, to convince us that the virtuous alone can bear misfortunes with true greatneſs of mind. There is neither any painted nor engraved portrait of this extraordinary man. Mary is ſaid to have been ſeven weeks with child by him when they ſeparated, and it has been thought that ſhe was brought to bed of a daughter whilſt ſhe was a priſoner in Lochlevin, that ſhe was ſent and educated in a monaſtery in France, and that ſhe died a nun at Notre Dame de Soiſſons; but there does not appear to have been any truth in this relation.

PART X.

James VI. King of Scotland, ſucceeded to England.

JAMES VI. was born in the caſtle of Edinburgh June 12, 1566; and was ſole heir of K. Henry and Q. Mary, both of the houſe of Stuart, a family peculiarly fortunate in having the crown come twice into it by marriage; both branches deſcended from two brothers, for K. Henry, the father of James, ſprung from Robert Stuart, only brother to Alexander, the great grandfather of K. Robert II. the firſt of the Stuart line who ſat upon the throne of Scotland. James was given to Britain to allay that animoſity that had for innumerable ages raged with ſo great a fury; but to Elizabeth, the Queen of England, his birth was a grievous wound, for receiving the news whilſt dancing, ſhe was ſtruck with the moſt piercing grief, exclaiming, "the Queen of Scots has a fair ſon, "whilſt I am but a barren ſtock," her hand at the ſame time ſupporting her penſive head; yet ſhe proteſted to Melvil, the ambaſſador, that the news was ſo agreeable, that it revived her from a tedious ſickneſs, and to teſtify her *pleaſure* at the event, accepted the office of ſponſor, and ſent the Earl of Bedford as her proxy, and with him Mr. Cary, ſon of Lord Hunſden, Hatton, her confident, Mr. Ligniſh, the favorite of the Duke of Norfolk, with a ſplendid train of knights and gentlemen, with moſt of the officers that were in Berwick. A tragical accident was near happening at the ceremony, owing to a moſt ridiculous circumſtance; the French who came upon the ſame occaſion were greatly piqued at ſeeing the evident partiality ſhewn to the Engliſh, owing to the rich prize, the imperial crown of that kingdom, being the chief object of Mary's

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ambition; to give vent to their reſentment, they contrived to dreſs many of their countrymen as Satyrs, who had long tails, and whips in their hands; theſe preceded, as if making way for a machine, which paſſed through the great hall, bringing, as without human aſſiſtance, the diſhes for ſupper, accompanied with muſicians, habited as damſels, ſinging and playing upon inſtruments of muſic; theſe Satyrs, in their way, took occaſion to deride the Engliſh, by putting their hands behind, and ſhaking their tails at them, which diſguſted them ſo much, that Hatton and Ligniſh gave up their intention of ſupping before the Queen, and the great banquet, that they might have ſeen the order of the entertainment; and in contempt of ſuch uſage, turned their backs to the table, ſitting upon the bare floor. Hatton was ſo enraged at the indignity offered, that he declared, if it had not been for the royal preſence, he would have ſtruck a dagger into the heart of Baſtien, the contriver of it; the Earl of Bedford ſoftened the matter to appeaſe the Engliſh. Whilſt they ſtaid, there were daily banqueting, dancing, and triumphs; Bedford was preſented by Q. Mary with a rich chain of diamonds, valued at 2,000 crowns; Cary had a chain of pearls, and a ring, with a fine diamond; Hatton a chain, with her majeſty's picture, and a ring; and Ligniſh, with five others of quality, had each of them chains. It is ſingular that Henry, the father of the infant, refuſed to grace the ceremony with his preſence, though he was then in the palace, from a diſagreement that ſubſiſted between him and the Queen, his wife, who, amidſt all this ſplendor, retired in ſecret, to vent the anguiſh of her heart in ſighs and tears for the inſenſible cruelty of the partner of her throne and bed, whom the haughty Elizabeth ordered her repreſentative on no account to honor with the title of King.

Few Princes have had more unfortunate parents than James; for in a ſhort time he was deprived of his father by violence, and ſoon after his other parent loſt her throne and liberty, and cloſed her life by a ſtill more tragical death; thus was his infancy marked with extraordinary events, and in it he is ſuppoſed to have eſcaped the

moſt imminent danger from the criminal deſigns of Bothwell*, one of the murderers of his father, the invader of his royal mother's honor, and whom, from that circumſtance, he prevailed upon to accept him for a huſband; theſe events led him to be an innocent uſurper, for the junto that dethroned Mary were determined to place the crown upon his head. Having obliged the impriſoned Queen, by threats and promiſes, to reſign the inſignia of royalty, they prepared to transfer them to this Prince, her only child; they, July 29, 1567, aſſembling at Sterling, called themſelves the repreſentatives of the three orders in the ſtate, and having haſtily made a previous preparation, proceeded to inveſt the infant with the honors they had taken from his mother; Lords Lindſay and Ruthven renouncing, in her name, the government, producing for their authority the extorted reſignation ſigned by her, and then ſurrendered up the ſword, ſceptre, and diadem; ſeveral of the noblemen who effected the revolution, received theſe in behalf of the ſtates, but for the uſe of the Prince; and then the Earl of Morton, bending his body, put his hand upon the ſcriptures, and took the coronation oath for the Prince, engaging that he ſhould govern according to the laws, and undertaking that he ſhould root out all heretics, and enemies to the true worſhip of God. Adam Bothwell, Biſhop of Orkney, ſo often mentioned, having anointed him, preſented to his infantine hands the ſword and ſceptre, and placed the crown upon his head; Knox preached a ſermon upon the occaſion, but was greatly diſpleaſed with the ceremony of anointing, as a Jewiſh rite. When they retired from the church to the caſtle, the Earl of Athol carried the crown, the Earl of Morton the ſceptre, and the Earl of Mar, who had been the governor of James, had the honor now to carry him in his arms. His minority was conſtantly diſturbed by the ambition and turbulence of contending parties;

* Some authors ſay that Bothwell averred, that "if he could get James into his "hands, he would prevent his revenging his father's violent death;" but raſh and unadviſed as that abandoned nobleman was, it can ſcarce be thought that he ſhould have been ſo unguarded; the truth is, that there was nothing, however improbable, but what met an eaſy belief at that period.

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the firſt Regent, James, Earl of Murray, his illegitimate uncle, fell by the hand of an aſſaſſin Jan. 23, 1570-1; Matthew, Earl of Lenox, his maternal grandfather, was murdered September 4, following; the Earl of Mar, who next obtained that office, died at Sterling Oct. 28, 1572, as it is generally ſuppoſed by poiſon, adminiſtered by James Douglas, Earl of Morton, who became Regent, and deſervedly fell upon the ſcaffold in June, 1581, when the King, though only fifteen years old, took the reigns of government into his hands; but he was frequently ſurprized and detained a priſoner by one or other of his great ſubjects, and nearly until the time of his acceding to the crown of England. It may here be remarked, that the Regents were regarded in Scotland as nearly equal in dignity to the ſovereign, as they were formerly in the other northern kingdoms of Denmark and Sweden; the frequent minorities that happened in Scotland, and which exceeded in number thoſe of any other nation, were chiefly occaſioned by an invincible enmity to England, which was often the grave of both the ſubject and the ſovereign; aſſaſſinations diſgrace their annals. France affords not a few during the period comprized in theſe memoirs; Italy was ſkilled in the art of poiſoning; England ſhed her illuſtrious blood another way; the ſcaffold was ſtained with the purple gore of her nobles, princes, and even ſuch who ſat upon the throne: happily, now, the great may retire to their parent earth without violence. Nothing has tended more to effect this bleſſed change in Britain, than the union of the crowns in the perſon of K. James; the little deſpots in Scotland, who had ever withſtood all legal government, were awed into ſubmiſſion by the greatneſs and ſplendor of the common ſovereign of the two kingdoms. James acted with much prudence as King of Scotland, though he had received from Buchanan an education more ſuited to the office of a pedagogue than a ſovereign. He ſucceeded to the Engliſh diadem March 24, 1602-3, and was received in ſo flattering a manner by his new ſubjects, that it had the effect he warned them of; it ſpoiled a "gude King." He died at the palace of Theobalds March 27, 1625, after reigning over Scotland

fifty-nine years, and England twenty-two, and living ſixty. His remains were buried with great pomp in Weſtminſter Abbey amongſt his predeceſſors; K. Charles, his ſon, walked as chief mourner. James, though the offſpring of the fineſt couple in Europe for beauty and elegance, was yet totally deſtitute of either. Numerous are his portraits, both painted and engraved.

Ann, Queen of K. James VI.

James received a ſplendid embaſſy from Frederic II. King of Denmark, conſiſting of 120 perſons, conveyed in two ſhips, which was ſent under pretence of demanding the reſtitution of the Orkney Iſles, the 50,000 florins they had been mortgaged for not having been paid; but the real deſign was to give the King an opportunity of propoſing an alliance with a daughter of Denmark; but from the artful miſrepreſentations of the Engliſh ambaſſador, whoſe miſtreſs did not wiſh to ſee the Scottiſh monarch married, they were ſo extremely ill-treated, that they were near returning to Denmark, full of rage and diſappointment; for Mr. Wotton had ſpoken of that court as drunken and contemptible; to the Danes he ſaid James called their ſovereign a merchant, ſo little did his majeſty then know of the northern part of Europe. Wotton, alſo, to gain the favor of the ambaſſadors, offered them, in his miſtreſs' name, money to ſupply their wants, which the neglect they experienced from his artful management had occaſioned; and to heighten their diſtruſt he told them, that there was a deſign to prevent their return home, which their diſguſt induced them to wiſh, and with menaces of revenge and expreſſions of hatred to that child of fortune, Arran, the unworthy favorite of James, whom they had remembered a common ſoldier in Denmark, they were preparing to leave Scotland: happily Melvil, who had travelled, knew the dignity of Frederic, and the value of the alliance, and placed them both in ſuch a point of view to his majeſty, that he attempted to

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regain the good opinion of the ambaſſadors, by the ſplendid manner in which he treated them; he drank the healths of the King and Queen, and then theirs; and at parting he did all his poverty would permit, for the Regents had left him no part of the ſplendid valuables his mother had poſſeſſed, and he was neceſſitated to borrow of Arran a gold chain, weighing fifty-ſeven crowns; this was obliged to be divided into three parts; fortunately it was a very long one*. Softened, but not content, they left Scotland, with only obſerving at their departure, that the Orkneys would go with one of the Princeſſes of Denmark. James promiſed to ſend ambaſſadors to Frederic for the obligations he felt for the honor done him, and having diſtributed his bounty to the Daniſh ſailors, gunners, trumpeters, and muſicians, they hoiſted ſail, and returned to their native ſhores. No ſtratagem employed by the Engliſh ambaſſador could prevail upon James to alter his determination of ſending an embaſſy to Frederic. Melvil declining it, recommended Mr. Peter Young, almoner to his majeſty, who, with Colonel Stuart, brought home a flattering relation of the younger Princeſs, for the eldeſt had been promiſed to the Duke of Brunſwick †. He preſented the Daniſh monarch with ſome ſuitable gifts, promiſing him that next year he would receive more illuſtrious perſons from the Scottiſh court. In the interim, the King of Navarre ſent to offer the Princeſs, his ſiſter, as a partner of his throne; deſirous of deciding judiciouſly between theſe illuſtrious females, James obtained a miniature of her, and received a flattering relation of her accompliſhments ‡; but for ſome reaſon

* This chain the Earl of Arran had received from Sir James Balfour, and probably he had it as part of the royal plunder.

† Elizabeth, Princeſs Royal, born in 1573, contracted in 1588 or 1589, and married in 1590 to Henry Julius, Duke of Brunſwick; ſhe died in 1627.

‡ Catherine, the only daughter of Anthony de Bourbon, Duke of Vendoſme, and titular King of Navarre, and ſiſter of Henry, who ſucceeded to that title, and afterwards became King of France, was married, in 1599, to Henry, Duke of Lorrain, and died in 1604 without iſſue. She was a ſpirited Princeſs, inheriting much

he preferred the former offer, and diſpatched Colonel Stuart again to Denmark, where he met with a cool reception, becauſe Frederic had heard of the other propoſed alliance; but the aſſiduity of Stuart, who went ſeveral times at his own expence, ſo overcame the royal Dane's reſentment, that before his death he expreſſly enjoined that the matrimonial negotiation ſhould be renewed. After innumerable obſtacles were raiſed by the Scotch miniſters, penſioners to the Engliſh Queen, who pretended to prefer the Princeſs of Navarre, James, whoſe patience was exhauſted, procured the citizens of Edinburgh to unite with him, and they declared, that unleſs the chancellor and the other counſellors agreed to the Daniſh alliance, they would ſeize and put them to death; this overcame every difficulty, and a treaty of marriage was concluded between James and Ann, the ſecond daughter of Frederic. She was born at Scanderburgh Dec. 12, 1574, and married by proxy at Cronenburgh, Aug. 20, 1589, but being detained in Norway, whither a ſtorm had driven the veſſel in which ſhe was, James, who was very impatient, and had vowed that he would conſummate the marriage within the year, ſet ſail with three ſhips, taking with him many of his attendants, and ſome of his confidential counſellors. Finding the Princeſs at Upſto, in that kingdom, five days after he had embarked, and on the Sunday following the nuptials were ſolemnized there, in the French language, by Lindſay, a Scotch miniſter James had taken with him for that purpoſe; and becauſe the ſeaſon was ſo far advanced, he accepted the invitation of the Queen-mother, and her ſon Chriſtiern, the King of Denmark elect; accordingly the bridal ſuit ſet out from Upſto, Dec. 2, and came to Bahouſe, a caſtle upon the borders of Norway and Sweden, Jan. 1, where they remained ſeven days, waiting for a convoy from the King of Sweden, and having been met by a troop of 400 horſe upon the frozen river, the royal ſuit paſſed into the dominions of Denmark, arriving at Weſtbury the next day, where

of the genius of her brother. No arguments could ever prevail upon her to become a Roman Catholic.

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they continued five more; thence went to Falkenberg, Halmſtadt, Cowholm, Elſingborn, and on Jan. 21 were received by the Queen-dowager at Cronenburgh; the young monarch, the Duke of Holſtein, his brother, and the four Regents of the realm, welcoming them with all imaginable joy and magnificence; they remained there until the end of February, when he was prevailed upon to continue until April, that he might honor the marriage of the Queen's eldeſt ſiſter with Henry-John, Duke of Brunſwick; of this he gave his council advice, with an order to ſend ſix ſhips to Elſinore, to convey him, his Queen, and their attendants home. A friendſhip was formed between the young ſovereigns of Scotland and Denmark that was truly fraternal, which continued during the life of James*. It is ſingular, that the miniſters who accompanied his majeſty broke out into open diſſentions about precedency. The ſhips arriving in the middle of April, the royal ſuit left Elſinore, and landed May 20, 1590; they were accompanied by the Admiral of Denmark, many gentlemen, and ſome of the council of that kingdom, who were rewarded with more than twelve golden chains, and many medals of the ſame metal, with his majeſty's effigies. Queen Ann was ſolemnly crowned by Robert Bruce, one of the miniſters of the Kirk; the public rejoicings continued for two months afterwards. Elizabeth, though ſhe had taken ſuch unbecoming means to prevent the union, yet ſent an ambaſſador to congratulate the King and Queen, and to preſent ſome coſtly things to the latter; he was honorably entertained, and at parting he received as a gift a ring, ſet with ſeven great diamonds. All Britain rejoiced in this alliance, except the poor old decrepit women of the North of Scotland, whom James put to death for the ſuppoſed crime of witchcraft, from the fooliſh idea that they had raiſed ſtorms at ſea, on purpoſe to deſtroy the new Queen, and which it was pretended

* Although Chriſtiern IV. was a youth when K. James was married, yet the affection they entertained for each other always remained; he twice viſited James after he became King of Great Britain; the Engliſh were ſhocked at his manners, and ſome of the ladies reſented his brutal behavior, which juſtifies the character given of him as a moſt libidinous Prince; he died Feb. 28, 1648.

they had nearly effected; ſo fatal was the extravagant prejudices of thoſe times to aged females*. William Dundas writes from Edinburgh, June 11, 1590, to Mr. Archibald Douglas, "Our Queene "carys a marvelus gravity, quhilk, w^t. hor patriall ſolitarines, "contrar to y^e. humor of our pepell hath baniſhed all our ladys "clein from her;" but it afterwards appears, by a letter of Lord Henry Howard to K. James, that ſhe was a weak, intriguing, tattling woman, and one who ought to be watched; and experience proved that the Queen "was naturally bold and enterprizing; ſhe "loved pomp and grandeur, tumult and intrigue. She was ac-"quainted with all the civil factions, not only in Scotland, occa-"ſioned by the Catholics, whom ſhe ſupported, and had even en-"couraged, but alſo in England, where the diſcontented, whoſe "numbers were not inconſiderable, were not ſorry to be ſupported "by a Princeſs deſtined to be their Queen." She reſented Melvil's appointment to be gentleman of her bedchamber, as thinking he was ſet to be her "keeper," as ſhe expreſſed it, until ſhe was convinced of her error; ſhe became very popular, deſervedly ſo, by taking the pains to learn the particulars of every one's caſe that was in diſgrace, and if ſhe found there was any miſtake or miſrepreſentation, ſhe ſet their character in its true light to the King, and ſtrove all in her power to reſtore them to favor; not content, however, with this, ſhe gained by other ways a conſiderable aſcendancy in Scotland, though James was not either uxorious or fond of ladies, and this was owing to her bold and daring ſpirit, which in many inſtances ſhewed itſelf; ſhe kept a ſtrong party, which often oppoſed the King's miniſters with ſucceſs; and her violence

* Mingled wonder and grief muſt ſeize all who read of the cruelties practiſed againſt the ſuppoſed witches: yet none can do it without laughing at the fooleries which were charged upon theſe poor creatures: they raiſe the devil, he preaches to them in a black gown, but has the aſſurance to wear a hat, ſpeaks a Spaniſh ſentence, moſt uncivilly bids them kiſs his poſteriors, and this they meanly condeſcend to do, "though it was as cold as ice:" theſe abſurd falſities were depoſed upon oath, with a thouſand other "deviliſh ridiculous forgeries." The poor wretches muſt have been mad, and their judges fools.

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was ſo great that Henry IV. of France, and other princes upon the continent are repreſented as conſtantly expecting to hear of her huſband's falling a victim to her practices; the "bonny Earl of Murray," in 1592, was ſurprized, and put to death by the order of James from jealouſy, either political, or perſonal, and which was one of the greateſt ſtains upon his character. Murray was the friend of the Queen, who reſpected him living, and lamented him dead: the Scots looked upon his fall as the effect of the King's ſuppoſing himſelf diſhonored, or in danger of it, as may be learned from a popular ballad upon the occaſion, one ſtanza of which is,

"He was a braw gallant,
"And he play'd at the gluve*,
"And the bonny Earl of Murray,
"Oh! he was the Queen's love."

It is undoubted, as well from hiſtory, as from the portraits of him ſtill remaining, that he was very handſome; and he thought himſelf ſo; for when Gordon, one of his aſſaſſins, wounded him in the face, he, in dying accents, ſaid, "you have ſpilt a better "face than your awn." The Queen certainly had her male friendſhips, for ſo ſtrongly was ſhe attached to Alexander Ruthven, the brother of the Earl of Gowrie †, that when he was killed in a ſuppoſed attempt againſt the King's life, in 1600, ſhe determined to revenge it, and for that purpoſe ſecretly ſent to Stuart, the exiled Earl of Bothwell, to return, that he might carry her deſigns into execution: and when ſhe came into England, ſhe ſent Sir Duncan Campbell a ring, ſet with diamonds, and ornamented with

* Gluve is a ſword, implying that he was ſkilful at that weapon.

† It appears, that by a letter from Lord Henry Howard to Mr. C. Bruce, that "divers of Gowrie's neareſt and deareſt friends have ſecret acceſs to perſons of great "quality; they keep old iſſues open, and feed ſpleen againſt all thoſe that are em"ployed and truſted in the courſes of the preſent ſtate, which the King's wiſdom "tempereth:" and by Nicholſon's letters to Cecil, Beatrix Ruthven, ſiſter of Gowrie, was privately admitted into the Queen's preſence.

a pair of doves, (a peculiar device from a lady) earneſtly inviting him to her new court. Nor are there wanting other inſtances of her bold and daring ſpirit; in 1595 ſhe was ſo diſpleaſed at not having the care of the Prince-Royal, that ſhe laid a plan to ſeize him, and had not the King ſurprized her at Falkland, ſhe would have effected her deſign, having won over many of the counſellors to her intereſt; and ſo fearful was James of her projects, that he ſent a letter to the Earl of Mar, in which he told his lordſhip that he confided the Prince to his care, in caſe he died, and that "neither for the Queen, nor for the ſtates' pleaſure, he ſhould deliver him out of his hands till he ſhould be eighteen years of age," when he was to be judged fit to govern. She greatly reſented this, and in 1603, when his majeſty taking his departure for England, requeſted her to follow in about twenty days, but continued to entruſt Lord Mar with the perſon of the Prince, it ſo highly exaſperated the haughty Queen, that ſhe inſiſted upon his being delivered up to her; and when denied, it threw her into a dangerous ſickneſs, that occaſioned a miſcarriage; and ſhe prevailed at length ſo far, that the Duke of Lenox had a commiſſion to comply with her requeſt; yet this did not ſatisfy, for when Spotſwood, the ſucceſſor of Beaton in the archiepiſcopal ſee of Glaſgow, was ſent to conduct her majeſty into England, and endeavored to obtain a reconciliation with Mar, as a nobleman to whom he was greatly, if not principally, indebted for his peaceable entrance into England, ſhe ſcornfully replied, that "rather than be beholding to him, ſhe would have wiſhed never to go into that kingdom;" but by ſtill farther explanations, ſhe at length was mollified, and deigned to give his lordſhip ſome tokens of eſteem. Her majeſty was conducted to London by the Earls of Suſſex and Lincoln, with others, accompanied by Prince Henry and the Princeſs Elizabeth: they arrived July 27; ſhe was crowned Queen of England with her royal conſort.

Sir Thomas Edmonds writes to the Earl of Shrewſbury, "I underſtand that the King is verie ill ſatisfied wth. the Duke of

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" Lenox for not having more effectually employed himſelf to diſ-
" wade the Queene from ſome courſes wch. ſhe hath taken, wch.
" doe verie muche diſcontent the Kinge;" particularizing her majeſty's conferring the place of her chamberlain upon one Mr. Kennedy, a Scotchman, of whom the King had ſo ill an opinion, that he declared if ſhe brought him into that office he would " break the ſtaff of his chamberlainſhip on his head, and ſo diſ-
" miſs him;" and the Duke was diſpatched to the Queen, to acquaint her that there were ſeveral others ſhe had nominated to attend upon her equally obnoxious to his majeſty; but ſo highly did ſhe reſent this oppoſition to her pleaſure, that ſhe would not admit Lady Kildare and Lady Walſingham to be of her privy chamber; the Counteſs of Bedford being the only one then nominated to that honor that ſhe would permit to be ſworn into that office. If the Queen was haughty and intractable to James and his miniſters, ſhe was then all condeſcenſion to her new ſubjects, affecting that behavior which made Elizabeth ſo juſtly beloved. Lady Arbella writes, Sept. 16, 1603, to the Earl of Shrewſbury, " If ever theare weare ſuch a vertu as curteſy at the court, I mar-
" vell what is becom of it, for I proteſt I ſee little or none of it
" but in the Queene, who, ever ſince her coming to Newbury,
" hath ſpoken to the people as ſhe paſſeth and receiveth theyr
" prayers wt. thancks, and thanckfull countenance, barefaced,
" to the great contentment of natiffe and forrein people; for I
" would not have you thinck the French Imbaſſador would leave
" that attractive virtue of our late Queene El. unremembred or
" uncomended, when he ſaw it imitated by our moſt gracious
" Queene, leaſt you ſhould thinck we infect even our neighbours
" wt. incivility." James was very liberal relative to her revenue as Queen-conſort and dowager, for her eſtabliſhment was to remain the ſame in either caſe; for, after ſearching for a precedent in the revenue of the wives of the preceding monarchs of England, he learnt that Catherine of Arragon, the firſt Queen of K. Henry VIII. had manors to the value of 5,500l. ſettled upon her, beſides ſome houſes and parks that were not valued; he appointed that

her majeſty ſhould have manors* in ancient rents of aſſize "*ultra* "*repris.*" to the value of 4,375l.; in fee farms 1,001l.; and parks and chaſes not valued 10l.; total, 5,376l. beſides houſes not valued, which were as good or better than all thoſe contained in Q. Catherine's jointure, being Somerſet Houſe, in London; the honor of Hatfield, Herts; the honor of Pontefract, with the caſtle, in Yorkſhire; Noneſuch, in Surry; and Havering, at Bower, in Eſſex, with power of granting leaſes for 21 years, upon reſerving the old rents: the caſualties of fines, it was ſuppoſed, would be greater, owing to the wiſe regulations made to reſtrict the under officers; "ſo that beſides the certain rents of the land, the profit "ariſing by fines for leaſes, wardſhip, and other eſcheats, it was "thought the whole would amount, *communibus annis*, to about "1,000l." which would raiſe the whole jointure to 6,376l.; this revenue was only to be expended "in wages to her ſervants, ap-

* The names of all the manors within the Queen's dower: Grantham, Gedney, with the lordſhip and manor of Spalding; Pinchbeck, Holbeck, Moulton, Weſton and Cowbett, in the county of Lincoln; Teppeſham and Oxmore, in Devon: Snave, the ſcite and capital meſſuage of Neotes, or Neote's-Court, *in inſula Scapie*; and the manor of Northborne, in Kent. Selſey, in Suſſex; the great park of Nonſuch and Clans, in the pariſh of Cheame, in Surry; Hanſlop, Farnham-Royal, Bireton, Newport-Pagnell, Riſborough-Princes, Whaddon, and Naſh, in Bucks; Shitlington, Cranfield, Bigleſwad, in Bedford; Newbury, in Berks: Coſham, in Wilts; Hatfield and Hitchin, in Herts; Havering-le-Bower, in Eſſex; Southſtoke and Corſton, in Somerſet; Week, in Dorſet; herbage and pannage poi de Pomfract, *i.e.* Pontefract; manors of Ackworth, Barwick, Scoles, and Leeds, in York; rents and profits of the honor of Clare, lying in the counties of Huntingdon and Cambridge; Hecham and Walton, with Frimley, in Suffolk; Pulham-Mary, and Pulham-Magdalen; rents and profits of the honor of Clare, held in Norfolk; Hampton-in-Arden, and Henley-in-Arden, in Warwick; Biſley, in Glouceſter; Kingſland, Mawarden, Weſtharnes, Stockton, Stoke, Leominſter, Ivington, and Hope, in Hereford; and Kingſnorton, in Worceſterſhire. For the care of her revenue, her majeſty appointed a general ſurveyor, ſeveral high-ſtewards, with a ſuperior one: a receiver-general, a maſter of all her "highneſs's" foreſts, parks, and wardens, beſides keepers of her ſeveral houſes; and ſhe ſelected twelve knights, inhabiting ſeveral parts of the realm, to be of her council, and theſe were all appointed and paid by her majeſty.

PART X. Ann Queen of James VI. of Scotland, and I. of England.

" parel for herſelf, and other ordinary rewards," for his majeſty was to pay all other expences of houſehold and ſtable; and the Queen ſtill retained the jointure or dowry ſhe had ſettled upon her in Scotland, at the time of her marriage.

She wiſhed to be thought to have the entire confidence and diſpoſal of the Prince of Wales; it is generally believed ſhe had many political intrigues, and kept up a ſecret correſpondence with ſeveral foreign powers, eſpecially Spain, in whoſe intereſt ſhe was very warm. James's miniſters treated her with as much diſregard as ſhe did them with a deſerved contempt. Scandal revived her whiſpers, by inſinuating that ſhe had too great a regard for the Earl of Pembroke; but, like her ſuppoſed Scotch lovers, ſuch reports ſeem only to have ariſen from her warmth in uniting with popular leaders in oppoſing the baſe minions that brought a contempt upon her huſband's government; it is not, however improbable but that ſhe might prefer the handſome and the elegant to her confidence, in which ſhe did but copy the example of James; and their great grand-daughter, Q. Ann, uſed to ſay, that none but ſuch of both ſexes ought to be ſeen in a court. The conſtant mortifications ſhe ſuffered from the King, his miniſter, Car, Earl of Southampton, and ſtill greater from the Duke of Buckingham, with the great debt her magnificent manner of living had occaſioned, broke her ſpirit ſo much, that in the latter part of her life ſhe principally employed herſelf in ſtriving, by entertainments and choice viands, to pleaſe the taſte of James, who was fond of the table. Though he never gave her that confidence that her good ſenſe and judgement deſerved, yet there are not wanting inſtances of his having ſhewn her great fondneſs, and ſuch as is not very conſiſtent with our ideas of delicacy, for in the public ſtreets of London, when he took his leave, he more than once kiſſed her, " ſuffi- " ciently to the middle of her ſhoulders, for ſo low ſhe went bare," and before all their attendants, and ſuch who were drawn thither either by duty or led by curioſity; however, the total indifference of James to her at the laſt, with the diſappointment ſhe received

in conſequence of it, threw her into a decline, which ended in a dropſy. James, ſoftened, perhaps, by her illneſs, augmented her jointure, and paid her debts; but this did not prevent the effects of her malady proving fatal. She died at Hampton-Court on Tueſday, about two o'clock in the morning of March 2, 1618-19;* her corpſe was brought in a barge to the palace in the Strand, where it lay in ſtate, and with great pomp was conveyed thence, May 13, to Weſtminſter, and depoſited in the chapel of Henry VII. after ſhe had lived more than forty-four years; it is ſaid the King did not lament her death, but he was near following her immediately, from a dangerous fit of ſickneſs. The Engliſh, however, certainly felt her loſs; ſhe had always been beloved by them, and though we muſt not believe ſuch authors as repreſent her, as "a "Princeſs of ſo ſpotleſs a life, that malice could not find a blemiſh "in her," nor, that "on her monument a character of virtue "may be engraved;" yet as Archbiſhop Abbot, who ſo well knew her, and was little given to flattery, ſpoke ſo highly of her many years after her death, it may be juſtly ſuppoſed ſhe deſerved his commendations, notwithſtanding what malice had urged againſt her character. She underſtood the French and Dutch languages, and I have ſeen ſome letters written in Engliſh, which evince ſhe had made a great proficiency in our tongue, and are proofs of her good underſtanding; and it cannot be denied but ſhe formed a proper eſtimate of merit, by her patronage of Sir Walter Raleigh, though in diſgrace, a priſoner, and adverſe to Spain, whoſe intereſts ſhe had eſpouſed. She was fond of building, and in 1600 made great additions to her favorite reſidence, the palace of Dumfirling; and the palace in the Strand having been rebuilt for her uſe, ſhe changed the name of it from Somerſet to Denmark Houſe; but after her death the old name of it was reſtored. The number of jewels ſhe left was ſo great and valuable, that it was thought they would have been ſufficient, properly applied, to have re-inſtated

* I have been very particular in ſpecifying the time of Q. Ann's death, becauſe ſo many authors differ in it; yet Sandford has given all the above circumſtances, and adds too an inſcription ſet up for her in Weſtminſter Abbey, which confirms it.

PART X.

Ann, Queen of James IV. of Scotland, and I. of England.

her ſon-in-law upon the throne of Bohemia. Mr. Howel, in a letter to his father, acquaints him that the people held the Queen's death to be one of the fatal effects that followed the laſt fearful comet "that roſe in the tail of the conſtellation of Virgo." "She "left," ſays he, "a world of brave jewels behind, but one Piero, an "outlandiſh man, who had the keeping of them, embezzled many, "and is run away; ſhe left all ſhe had to Prince Charles, whom ſhe "ever loved beſt of all her children." In this idea he appears miſtaken, if not ſingular; "nor do I hear of any legacy ſhe left at all to "her daughter in Germany; for that match, ſome ſay, leſſened ſome-"thing of her affection towards her ever ſince, ſo that ſhe would "often call her Goody Palſgrave; nor could ſhe abide Secretary "Winwood ever after, who was one of the chiefeſt inſtruments "to bring that match about, as alſo for the rendition of the cau-"tionary towns in the Low Countries, Fluſhing and Brill, with "the Rammakins." There was a portrait of her majeſty at Somerſet Houſe, painted by C. Johnſon, which has been engraved, and is one of the ſet of illuſtrious heads; there is another painting of her at the ſeat of Mr. Erſkine, at Alt[illegible], in Scotland; Criſpin and Simon Paſs engraved her portrait, as well as ſome others; by all theſe it appears that ſhe was very far from a "beauty," but ſhe had a good complexion, for her "ſkin was far more amiable than "the features it covered, though not the diſpoſition, in which report "rendered them very debonair." The Queen bore for her arms thoſe of K. James, impaling, 1. Denmark: 2. Norway, Sweden, and of the Goths: and 4. Vandals upon an eſcutcheon of pretence: alſo of four pieces; 1. Sleſwick; 2. Holſtein; 3. Stormer; and 4. Ditzmers: and over all, upon another ſhield, Oldenburgh and Dalmenhurſt.

Children of K. James VI. and Q. Ann.

1. Henry-Frederic, born at Sterling, February 19, 1593; moſt of the principal courts of Europe congratulated K. James upon

the birth of this, his eldeſt ſon, looking upon the Prince as the future heir of a ſplendid monarchy; his baptiſm was the moſt magnificent Scotland ever ſaw; the ſponſors were, the Queen of England, repreſented by the Earl of Suſſex, attended by a ſplendid ſuit; the Dukes of Brunſwick and Mecklenburgh, and the United States, from all of whom came ambaſſadors: France ſent none *. The infant was brought into the Queen's chamber of preſence, and laid upon a bed of ſtate; then came in the ambaſſadors, to each of whom the Prince was preſented. The Counteſs of Mar delivered him to the Duke of Lenox; his grace to the Earl of Suſſex, who the whole day had the principal place of honor. In going to the chapel Lord Hume bore the ducal coronet, Lord Levingſton the towel, Lord Seton the fontal baſon, and Lord Semple the laver; the Earl of Suſſex carried the Prince under a rich imperial canopy, ſupported by four Lairds; the child's train was borne by the Lords Sinclair and Urquhart, a great number of illuſtrious perſons of both ſexes attending in the proceſſion, who all paſſed through a

* K. James acted imprudently in not gratifying England and France, with whom he was ſo particularly connected, for he only commiſſioned the Laird of Eaſter Weems, who was ſervant to his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, and who had buſineſs in France, to notify the birth of Prince Henry to Elizabeth, as he paſſed through London, and to Henry IV. when he arrived at Paris. Perhaps there was a difficulty in fixing upon ſuitable perſons, for the council, who had the choice of them, appointed Sir William Keith one of them, who could ſpeak neither Latin, French, nor German. Mr. Peter Young, who was ſent to Denmark, Mecklenburgh, and Brunſwic, gained three fair gold chains; but England and France were ſo diſpleaſed, they gave the meſſenger nothing. The French monarch refuſed to ſend any ambaſſador to the baptiſm, and Elizabeth intended to have declined it; but finding Henry would not, ſhe complied, to evince the ſuperiority of her affection to the King, and the people of Scotland. Except Denmark and Holland, no party appears entirely ſatisfied; Mecklenburg and Brunſwic were diſpleaſed that a particular expreſs had not been ſent to each; nor would their ambaſſadors, when they came, ride out of Leith with the Daniſh, but requeſted a particular convoy to Edinburgh. They, with the Dutch ambaſſadors, remained long there, in expectation of thoſe of England and France; the latter never came; and alſo for the finiſhing of the chapel of Sterling, which was rebuilding, as it was determined the baptiſm ſhould be performed there.

PART X. Children of K. James VI. and Queen Ann.

guard of young noblemen and gentlemen; upon their entrance into the chapel his majeſty, riſing from the throne, received and ſaluted the ambaſſadors; the infant was returned to the Duke of Lenox, who gave him to his nurſe, and then the eſtates took their ſeats. A chair of ſtate was ſet upon the right hand for the ambaſſador of France though not preſent, next to which ſat the Daniſh ambaſſador; on the left the Engliſh, Brunſwic, Mecklenburgh, and thoſe of the States; before each of them was placed a ſmall table, covered with velvet; but there were only attendants to wait upon the Earl of Suſſex, who, when the baptiſmal ſervice was ended, preſented the Prince to David Cunningham, Biſhop of Aberdeen; but David Lindſay, miniſter of Leith, named him: the proceſſion returning in the ſame order as they went, when the infant being laid upon the bed of honor, Lion, King at arms, proclaimed his titles; Henry-Frederic, Knt. Baron of Renfrew, Lord of the Iſles; Earl of Carric, Duke of Rothſay, Prince and Steward of Scotland. Gold and ſilver medals were then diſtributed amongſt the people, and many gentlemen received the honor of knighthood. The preſents that were made by the ambaſſadors were very ſplendid; particularly thoſe ſent by Q. Elizabeth, conſiſting of a fine wrought cupboard of ſilver, gilt, with ſome cups of maſſy gold. The ambaſſador of the States preſented a golden box, containing a parchment, written in letters of gold, promiſing a penſion of 5,000 ducats during the life of the Prince, and large cups of maſſy gold, two of which Melvil, who received them, ſays he could ſcarcely lift up and replace again upon the table; nor were there wanting many jewels, and other valuables, preſented by the Princes; theſe the Queen received into her own hands. The public rejoicings were continued for a whole month; but this profuſion was greater than the ſlender revenue of James could ſupport, and tended probably to the melting down all the rich and valuable plate theſe potentates had ſent, all which were ſoon coined into money, to his no ſmall diſgrace. Prince Henry was put under the care of the Earl of Mar whilſt he remained in Scotland. Upon his father's acceſſion to the Engliſh crown, he was ſent for into that kingdom, and arrived at York

June 11, 1603; at Eaſton, in the county of Northampton, on the 27th, where he was met by K. James, and conducted to London. July 2, at a chapter of the order of the Garter, held at Windſor, he was inſtalled one of the Knights; in 1609 he was created a Knight, when an aid was granted throughout the kingdom, and though then ſo young, he ſhewed his courage and ſkill at the barriers. May 30, 1610, he was created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Cheſter, with a ſolemnity ſuitable to the occaſion and his merit: Sir William Segar, Garter King at arms, bearing the letters patent, the Earl of Suſſex the purple robes, the Earl of Huntingdon ſupported his train, the Earl of Cumberland carried the ſword, the Earl of Rutland the ring, the Earl of Derby the rod, the Earl of Shrewſbury the cap of eſtate and the coronet, and the Earls of Nottingham and Northampton ſupporting his Royal Highneſs, who was in his ſurcoat only, and bare-headed, attended by twenty-five Knights of the Bath; he knelt before the ſovereign, whilſt the letters patent were read by the Earl of Saliſbury, and at the word accuſtomed, his majeſty inveſted him with the robes, ſword, cap, coronet, rod, and ring, when having kiſſed him upon the cheek, the ceremony was finiſhed. After this he kept a ſeparate court; Sir Thomas Chaloner, his governor, was then appointed his Lord Chamberlain; Sir Edward Philips his Chancellor, with other officers ſuitable to his rank. Prince Henry had ſo improved under the tuition of Mr., afterwards Sir Adam Newton, that he was the delight and hopes of Britain; and was eſteemed, beloved, and courted by that great judge of merit, Henry IV. K. of France; but, whilſt poſſeſſing all thoſe manly and heroic virtues which would have made him a moſt puiſſant monarch, he was cut off at an early age, having not quite atained his nineteenth year, falling a martyr to violent exerciſe, which he had often been cautioned againſt, and which he had felt the ill effects of, yet incautiouſly coming from the palace of Richmond to that of St. James's, he threw himſelf into ſo great a heat by playing at tennis with the Palſgrave, and Count Henry of Naſſau, that it occaſioned a violent fever, which ſettled upon his brain, and, after ſuffering moſt exquiſite tortures,

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he died Nov. 6, 1612. His corpſe was conveyed to Weſtminſter Abbey, and laid in the vault of his grandmother, the ill-fated Q. of Scots. Sandford has given a repreſentation of the hearſe that was placed for him in the abbey. His death occaſioned a gloom upon every face: his father felt his loſs much leſs than he ought; but the virtues of Henry were a ſevere reflection upon his conduct, and the entire love and confidence there was between the Queen and this, her darling child, might contribute to that mean jealouſy which diſgraced K. James: but the ſuggeſtion that the father had deprived the ſon of life, is alike cruel and ill founded, for there are undeniable proofs that his death was natural. Sir Charles Cornwallis, treaſurer of his houſehold, anceſtor of the Marquis Cornwallis, who wrote his life with apparent impartiality, ſpeaks of him thus: "He was of a comely, tall, middle ſtature, about five foot "and eight inches high; of a ſtrong, ſtrait, well-made body, with "ſomewhat broad ſhoulders, and a ſmall waiſt; of an amiable "majeſtic countenance; his hair of an auburn color, long face, and "broad forehead; piercing grave eyes, a moſt gracious ſmile, with "a terrible frown: courteous, loving, and affable; his favor, like "the ſun, indifferently ſeeming to ſhine upon all: naturally ſhame-"faced and modeſt; moſt patient, which he ſhewed in his life and "death; diſſimulation he eſteemed moſt baſe, chiefly in a Prince; "not willing, nor by nature being able to flatter, favor, or uſe "thoſe kindly who deſerved not his love. Quick he was to con-"ceive any thing; not raſh, but mature in deliberation; yet moſt "conſtant, having reſolved: true to his promiſe, moſt ſecret, "even from his youth, ſo that he might have been truſted in any "thing that did not force a diſcovery, being of a cloſe diſpoſition, "not eaſy to be known or pried into; of a fearleſs, noble, heroic, "and undaunted courage, thinking nothing impoſſible that ever "was done by any. He was ardent in his love to religion, which "love, and all the good cauſes thereof, his heart was bent, by "ſome means or other, (if he had lived) to have ſhewed, and "ſome way to have compounded the unkind jars thereof. He "made conſcience of an oath, and was never heard to take God's

" name in vain. He hated popery, though he was not unkind " to the perſons of papiſts. He loved, and did rightly ſtrive to " do ſomewhat of every thing, and to excel in the moſt excellent. " He greatly delighted in all kinds of rare inventions and arts, " and in all kinds of engines belonging to the wars, both by ſea " and land; in the bravery and number of great horſes; in ſhoot- " ing and levelling great pieces of ordnance; in the ordering " and marſhalling of arms; in building and gardening, and in " all ſorts of rare muſic, chiefly the trumpet and drum; in lim- " ning and painting; carving, in all ſorts of excellent and rare " pictures, which he had brought unto him from all countries." Before this ſmall book is an engraving of him: there are many others. He choſe for his mottoes, " *Pax mentis, honeſtæ gloria*;" and " *Juvat, ire per altum.*"

2. Robert, who was born at Dumfirmling Palace, and died whilſt James was K. of Scotland only.

3. Charles, born at Dumfirmling Nov. 9, 1600; created Duke of Albany, Marquis of Ormond, Earl of Armanoch. He was intruſted to the care of Lord Fife, Preſident of the Seſſion, but conducted into England in 1604; he was then a very weakly child, and ſo rickety, that his legs were extremely crooked, that it was thought he muſt have had irons to enable him to walk; but by the care of Lady Harrington he became entirely upright. He was created Duke of York, and, upon his brother's death, Prince of Wales; at his father's he ſucceeded to the throne. His political errors involved him in great and unparalleled misfortunes, which ended only in a violent and ſhocking death; for though he was not amenable to the law, having been doomed to die by an illegal ſentence of a junto, conſtituted his judges by a garbled Houſe of Commons, he ſuffered on a ſcaffold, before one of his palaces in the capital, Jan. 30, 1648-9. By the beautiful, but weak, Henrietta-Maria, daughter of Henry IV. K. of France, he had four ſons and four daughters; 1. Charles, who died an infant; 2. K. Charles II.

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who left no lawful iſſue; 3. James II. by whoſe firſt wife he had Q. Mary II. and Q. Ann. The ſurviving children of the ſecond marriage were deprived of all right to the crowns of theſe realms, on account of their religion. 4. Henry, Duke of Glouceſter, who died a bachelor, univerſally lamented by the ſovereign and the people, Sept. 13, 1660. 5. Married to William, Prince of Orange, whoſe only child was K. William III. 6. Elizabeth, who died at the age of fourteen. 7. Ann, who died a child. And, 8. Henrietta-Maria, who, by Philip, Duke of Anjou, afterwards Duke of Orleans, brother of Lewis XIV. had two daughters, Louiſa, firſt Queen to K. Charles II. of Spain, but died without iſſue; and Anna-Maria, who married Victor Amadeus II. Duke of Savoy, from which alliance deſcend the Kings of Sardinia; and, by females, the ſovereigns of France, Spain, and Naples, and ſome other potentates, but all of whom were precluded from ſucceeding to the throne of England, as being of the Roman Catholic religion.

Margaret, who died a child.

4. Margaret, born at the palace of Dumfirmling Dec. 24, 1598, and died in Scotland, when a child.

Mary, who alſo died a child.

5. Mary, born at Greenwich in March, 1605; her ſponſors were, the Duke of Holſtein, Lady Arbella, and the Counteſs of Northumberland. She died Dec. 16, 1607, at Stanwell, under the care of Lady Knevet, and was buried in Weſtminſter Abbey in a private manner, yet attended with many of the nobility of both ſexes, and a ſermon was preached upon the occaſion by Mr. Leach; a tomb was erected to her memory, and her effigies, reclining on one ſide, were placed upon it.

Sophia, who died an infant.

6. Sophia, born at Greenwich June 21, 1606, privately baptized on the 23d, and died the ſame evening; and on the 5th her body was conveyed by water, attended by many perſons of quality, and officers of arms, Lady Arbella being mourner; and was buried

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in the ſame vault as her ſiſter Mary had been. The monument is ſingular, repreſenting a cradle.

Elizabeth, who married Frederic, Elector Palatine, and afterwards King of Bohemia.

7. Elizabeth, the eldeſt daughter of K. James and Q. Ann, whoſe hiſtory, with that of her deſcendants, will more conveniently fall in here than if ſhe had been mentioned next after K. Charles I. her brother. She was born in Scotland Aug. 16 or 19, 1596, and baptized on the Sunday of the following month; the ſponſors were, Q. Elizabeth, repreſented by Bowes, her ambaſſador, and the city of Edinburgh, by the magiſtrates: ſhe was entruſted to the care of the Earl of Linlithgow when King James came to England.

After rejecting ſeveral Roman-Catholic Princes, ſhe was affianced to Frederic V. Count Palatine of the Rhine, Duke of Bavaria, Sileſia, &c. and one of the Electoral College, cup-bearer and high ſteward of the empire; he was born Aug. 16, 1596. His highneſs landed at Graveſend Oct. 16, 1612, accompanied by Prince Maurice of Naſſau; inſtalled Knight of the Garter at Windſor. According to the cuſtom of the times, the bans were publiſhed in the chapel-royal, and, Feb. 14, he married the Princeſs at Whitehall. The ceremony was very magnificent; the bride was led by Prince Charles, and the Earl of Northampton, privy ſeal; her royal highneſs was habited in black velvet, as mourning for her late brother, Prince Henry, and not in white, as Sandford and other writers have affirmed: her train was borne by twelve young ladies of diſtinction, alſo dreſſed in black; ſhe wore a coronet of pearls, and in her flowing locks were braided pearls and jewels: the King, her father, gave her away, the Archbiſhop married her, and the Biſhop of Bath and Wells preached the bridal ſermon. On her return from chapel ſhe was conducted by two married noblemen, the Duke of Lenox, and the Earl of Nottingham, Lord Admiral; a ſplendid maſque was given in honor of the nuptials, and ſhe received from the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London a ſet of Oriental pearls, valued at 2,000l.

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The nation entirely rejoiced in this marriage; the only objection was its celebration ſo ſoon after the death of the Prince of Wales; but as the preſence of the Elector could not long be diſpenſed with from his own court, it excuſed this ſeeming impropriety; the aid amounted to 20,500l. The illuſtrious pair having taken leave of their majeſties, April 10, went to Rocheſter, where they embarked the 29th, and landed at Fluſhing; from thence they went to Heidelberg, his capital, and ſuch profuſion was diſplayed, that a relation was publiſhed both in the Engliſh and German languages*: but this alliance, ſo honorable for him, proved very unfortunate, for the Bohemians, in 1619, throwing off the galling yoke of the houſe of Auſtria, offered him their crown; flattering himſelf with ſupport from his father-in-law, in a fatal moment he agreed to accept it, but was ſoon undeceived, for James did not heſitate to expreſs his diſapprobation, and to acknowledge that he conſidered him as a uſurper, and the Bohemians rebels; ſo high did this monarch carry his notions of ſubjection, even by an oppreſſed people, groaning under a cruel bondage, made more ſo by religious perſecution. Frederic, left to defend himſelf, was, by the loſs of the

* I have ſeen an imperfect pamphlet in the German language, giving a relation of the Princeſs Elizabeth's marriage, and of all the magnificence diſplayed upon the occaſion, both in England and Germany. There were two engravings in it, and probably there had been others; they were executed by Eb. Kieſer; the firſt gives the marriage proceſſion: the pageantry was preceded by 6 trumpeters, then came the Palſgrave, between the Duke of Lenox and the Earl of Nottingham, attended by 8 others; the Princeſs, with a coronet and her flowing hair, conducted by her brother, Prince Charles, and the Earl of Northampton, followed by 10, not 12 ladies; after whom came 12 gentlemen, probably young noblemen; 4 heralds, each bearing a ſceptre; then 6 gentlemen; a king at arms; 6 perſons of rank; 4 biſhops; 4 officers of arms, each bearing a ſceptre; a nobleman, bearing the ſword; the King's majeſty, followed by 2 noblemen; her majeſty, with her train borne by a lady, and followed by ſeveral other ladies. There are guards with ſide-arms and long battle-axes, which they bear upon their ſhoulders; the bride and bridegroom are moſt magnificently dreſſed. The other engraving is the meeting of the CHURF and PRINCELLIN, near Heidelberg, with all the ſoldiers brought from their tents; cannon are being fired; Sh. Berg, Heidelberg, Wijblingen, with the Neikar and the camps, are repreſented; the coaches are magnificent, but very large and heavy.

battle of Whitehill, fought near Prague, November 8, 1620, he loſt not only Bohemia, but his hereditary dominions, neither of which did he ever recover, but fled to Reenen, in the province of Utrecht, where he kept his little court, but in a mean manner; even K. James, profuſe as he was, ſupplying them with a ſparing hand; and they received ſtill leſs from K. Charles I. Frederic has been blamed exceedingly for his raſhneſs in accepting the crown; in riſking a battle that was to decide his fate, the loſs of which muſt be his total ruin; and in too haſtily quitting the field, though life, without dominion, was not worth preſerving. He bore his misfortunes with fortitude, and ſhe with magnanimity; the Engliſh continued conſtant to her and her intereſt, and the Dutch, with whom ſhe reſided, called her the "Queen of hearts;" yet this did not prevent ſome of their ſtern Republicans from baſely making her misfortunes a ſubject of mirth, inhumanly ſporting with her hapleſs fate, a fate ſhe had not brought upon herſelf. Her intereſt was certainly ſacrificed by K. James, that his ſon might marry a daughter of Spain, unleſs he vainly ſuppoſed, that by that alliance he ſhould be able to procure the reſtoration of his ſon-in-law*, who, in 1623, had been put to the ban of the empire, ſo that his dignity and dominions were alike forfeited by the judgment of the Germanic conſtitution, notwithſtanding the utmoſt exertions of the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburgh, with other Princes, who vainly endeavored to ſoften the inflexible and haughty Ferdinand II. The lower Palatinate was conquered by Philip IV. of Spain; the

* The Dutch, in ſeveral of their engravings, gave the Queen of Bohemia in a ludicrous light; one of them repreſents her as an Iriſh glibbin, or mantler, with her hair diſhevelled, carrying a child upon her back, and her father following with a cradle. In contempt of K. James's egregious folly in truſting to negociation rather than arms, he was depicted with a ſcabbard without a ſword, and with a ſword ſtuck ſo faſt, that he could not draw it out; and upon the Continent he was ridiculed in plays and ſongs, as well as caricatures. In the Netherlands was acted a farce, in which was a paſſage ſpoken by a meſſenger, who, in haſte, ſaid that the Palatine would ſoon be aſſiſted by a vaſt army from a powerful confederacy, for the King of Denmark would ſend 100,000 pickled herrings, the Hollanders 100,000 butter boxes, and England 100,000 ambaſſadors.

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upper one by Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, who alſo obtained the electoral dignity Feb. 23, 1623-4. What compaſſion muſt we not feel for theſe illuſtrious unfortunates, when the Prince thus expreſſes himſelf in one of his letters to the Princeſs: "Would to God "that we had a little corner of the world, in which we could "live quietly and contentedly together; that is all the happineſs I "wiſh for." After ſeeing ſome weak efforts made by the ſword, and ſtill more ineffectual ones by the pen, from James I. and Charles I. he ſunk under the weight of his afflictions, November 19, 1632, at Mentz, whither he had a little before removed to, from Francfort.

Mr. Howel acquaints the Earl of Leiceſter, that the malignity of the plague was exhaled from the electoral King, and that great hopes were entertained of his recovery; but the news of the death of his illuſtrious friend, the Swediſh hero, ſo ſhocked him, as all his hopes had been in that King for his reſtitution, that he ſunk under the burden of his misfortunes, and this laſt the greateſt of all.

The Proteſtants of Germany felt for his death, as a martyr to their intereſts; he appears rather as an amiable than a great man. There are fine portraits of the King and Queen of Bohemia, by Cornelius Janſen, at the Mote, near Maidſtone, the ſeat of that moſt reſpectable and univerſally-beloved nobleman, Lord Romney, giving them as large as life, in ſable habits, with the inſignia of that royalty which was ſo fatal to their happineſs; his perſon is good; ſhe, though not handſome, is far more ſo than either of her parents: their misfortunes ſeem depicted in their countenances. After the death of Ferdinand, ſhe reſided at the Hague, where ſhe lived to ſee the dreadful miſeries of her family; her brother, K. Charles I. led to execution by his ſubjects, and his children rendered, like her own, exiles, without either territories or any thing to ſupport their high birth. The affection ſhe at all times ſhewed to the King, her brother, and to his family, does great honor to her ſenſibility, as her diſtinguiſhing the merit of Lord

Craven does to her diſcernment: this gallant nobleman, who, from partiality to her perſon and intereſt, had ſupported both with his blood and fortune, aſpired to and obtained her in marriage; his Lordſhip was, in a great meaſure, the ſupport of herſelf and family during her widowhood, until he was plundered of his fine eſtate and rich valuables by the Republicans, for having aſſiſted K. Charles I. and K. Charles II. in their misfortunes*. After the reſtoration of the latter, joy and gladneſs beamed again into her mind, after they had been abſent ſo many years; and Charles having invited an aunt, who had ſeemed to have forgotten her own to lament his calamities, ſhe viſited England, after ſhe had been ſo long a ſtranger, arriving in London May 17, 1661; to ſhew the great eſteem ſhe had for Lord Craven's invariable attention to her, ſhe reſided not in any one of the palaces, but firſt in a houſe belonging to that nobleman in Drury Lane, and then in another of his, called Leiceſter Houſe, St. Martin's in the Fields. Providence ſeemed to have ſpared her, only to witneſs the reſtoration of thoſe crowns to her nephew, which were doomed one day to adorn her own offſpring. Though this unfortunate Princeſs had been deſerted by

* William, Lord Craven, the ſon of Sir William Craven, Knt. Lord Mayor of London; he was created a Baron, in 1626, by K. Charles I. and by K. Charles II. a Viſcount and Earl. He had reſided abroad twenty years; he was truſted and beloved by that monarch; he was alſo a privy counſellor to K. James II. but who took away his regiment from him, becauſe he would not go contrary to his ſuperior duty to his country; he felt this misfortune exquiſitely, yet, though he joined in the Revolution, K. William did not reſtore it to him: he died April 9, 1697, aged nearly eighty-nine years, and was buried at Binley, near Coventry, April 20th following. His Lordſhip had been, in his younger days, one of the moſt accompliſhed gentlemen in Europe; an uſeful ſubject, charitable, abſtemious to himſelf, generous to others; familiar in his converſation, and univerſally beloved. "His "conſtant attendance at every fire in London occaſioned it to be ſaid, "that his "horſe ſmelt fire as ſoon as it happened." At Comb Abbey, the ſeat of Lord Craven, are very many portraits of the electoral family, ſome very fine. Sir Rob. Craven, brother of his Lordſhip, was maſter of the horſe to the Q. of Bohemia. By limitation, the barony of Craven is enjoyed by the preſent Peer, who is deſcended from Henry, elder brother of William, grandfather of William, Earl of Craven.

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her father and brother, the nation, more juſt, always regarded her with affection, pitied her misfortunes, and would have vindicated them, had thoſe monarchs called out the energy of their ſubjects: her virtues were rendered more conſpicuous by the unhappy events of her life; and moſt of thoſe who grieved to ſee the throne divided by a Roman-Catholic Princeſs, would gladly have ſeated Elizabeth upon it, and ſecured the ſucceſſion to her children, to the excluſion of thoſe of K. Charles I.; and in nothing did Archbiſhop Laud loſe the good opinion of the people more, than in directing that the Queen of Bohemia and her children ſhould not be mentioned in the liturgy*: her conſtant and invariable ſteadineſs to the Proteſtant religion riveted the public attachment; for when the marriage of her deſtitute ſon with a daughter of the Emperor was propoſed, ſhe replied, "I had rather be his executioner;" though by it, and the ſacrifice of his religion, he would have obtained the reſtitution of his father's dominions.

The iſſue of Frederic, K. of Bohemia, and the Princeſs Elizabeth, daughter of K. James.

Prince Frederic-Henry.

1. Frederic-Henry, born Jan. 1, 1614-15. This Prince loſt his life by the overſetting of a public paſſage-boat, upon his return from Amſterdam to Utrecht, owing to a thick fog; he clung to the veſſel until he was frozen: his father, who was with him, ſaved his life by ſwimming; this cataſtrophe happened Jan. 7, 1629.

Prince Charles Lodowic.

2. Charles Lodowic, born at Heidelburgh, Dec. 22, 1617; after the misfortunes of his unhappy parents, he was conveyed from

* So late as 1645 the Elector Charles, ſon of the Queen of Bohemia, wrote to his mother, that "the Parliament hath never, ſince I came to England, denied or delayed any thing that was offered to them concerning your buſineſs, nor do I think they will whenever it comes before them; your majeſty may then judge where it lieth." The Engliſh felt properly for her misfortunes; but King Charles envied his ſiſter's popularity. How little did he think of the reverſe that awaited him—her deſcendants are now upon the Britiſh throne, and his exiles.

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thence, when four years old, to Wirtemberg and Brandenburgh, and laſtly to Holland, and received his education at the Hague, and at Leyden; at the age of eighteen he came into England, and was honored by his uncle, K. Charles I. with the order of the Garter. In 1637 he fought the battle of Vlota, in Weſtphalia, and, by advice of the Prince of Orange, came over to ſolicit the command of the Swediſh army in Germany, upon the death of Duke Barnard; and great intereſt was made by the French ambaſſador to Car the miniſter; but impatient to obtain it, with the ſtrong garriſon of Briſac, he privately left England in 1639, intending to paſs through France, in diſguiſe; the French, ſuſpecting his rank by the ſhips ſaluting him in the Downs, and by his own diſcharging a volley when he landed at Bologne, he was ſeized at Moulins; but denying himſelf, it ſo enraged Richlieu, that he ſent him under an arreſt to Bois de Vincennes, where he remained a priſoner for twenty-three weeks, and obtained his liberty only by the mediation of his royal uncle. He afterwards came over to this kingdom again, but left his majeſty at York, upon the breaking out of the civil wars, and went to Holland. The Parliament, in 1643, propoſed, at the treaty of Oxford, that an alliance ſhould be entered into for the recovery of the Palatinate; this, perhaps, determined him to ſupport their intereſt, in oppoſition of his relation's; an indecency of conduct that firſt brought a contempt upon him, which was increaſed by his coming again in the following year, to the ſurprize and diſapprobation even of the party he courted, who told him he ought to remain abroad, that his intereſt demanded it, requeſting to know what occaſioned his coming hither; his reply was, to take all jealouſies off from him, from the conduct of ſome of his relations, and aſſured them how much he wiſhed them ſucceſs in their great undertaking for a "thorough reformation," and expreſſed his joy to hear they had taken the "covenant;" ſuch behavior was highly reſented by the King, who wrote to know what his deſigns were, but haughtily added, it was only from curioſity, and that becauſe he was his ſiſter's ſon. He remained, however, ſtill with the diſloyal Parliament, and condeſcended to ſit

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in the aſſembly of divines, to hear their debates, having apartments aſſigned him in Whitehall, with a penſion of 8,000l. until he ſhould be better provided for. K. Charles refuſed to receive a viſit from him when under condemnation; even his brothers treated him with ſcorn, In 1649 he was arreſted at a city feaſt; it was, however, reſented by the Houſe of Commons; notwithſtanding this diſgrace, he remained ſtill with the party that dethroned and condemned his uncle: at length, having written a letter to the Parliament, humbly thanking them for their favors, and requeſting a continuance of his penſion, and the payment of his arrears, which was ordered, and obtaining a paſs for himſelf and forty attendants, he was permitted to leave the kingdom. He had the good fortune to be reſtored by the treaty of Munſter, concluded in that year, to the Lower Palatinate, and to the electoral dignity, conditionally, that he renounced all claims to the Upper Palatinate. He refuſed the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance to K. Charles II. when in diſtreſs, nor would he permit the exiled monarch, his near relation, to come within his dominions; nor did he ſend him a meſſenger to pay him a compliment, even whilſt he was at Cologne, which was very near him, though the Duke of Newburg behaved with an attention and regard that reflects as much honor upon him, as it does diſgrace upon the Elector, as England had ſo often afforded him an aſylum, and had granted his family ſo many ſubſidies. His Highneſs died Aug. 28, 1680, lamented by none; he was a bad ſon, behaving with a parſimony to his mother that nothing could excuſe; nor was he a better huſband, deſerting the Electreſs for his miſtreſs, and, as has been ſeen, an unkind relation; in fine, he was entirely unamiable; but his underſtanding was good; in the ſchool of adverſity he learned to read mankind, but he ſaw it in its worſt light. He married, Feb. 12, 1650, Charlotte, daughter of William V. Landgrave of Heſſe, who, from the ill treatment ſhe met with, ſoon returned to the court of Heſſe; ſhe died March 16, 1686, aged fifty-nine years. The iſſue of this marriage was, 1, Charles, Elector Palatine, born March 31, 1615, in whom the male branch of this line became extinct, May 16, 1685, he leaving no child

by Wilhelmina-Erneſtina, daughter of Frederic III. King of Denmark, and ſiſter of Prince George of Denmark, huſband of Ann, Queen of Great Britain; and, 2, Charlotte-Elizabeth, born May 27, 1652; ſhe was married, November 21, 1671, to Philip, Duke of Orleans, brother of Lewis XIV. and died December 8, 1782, from which marriage the branch of Orleans deſcends *.

Iſſue of Frederic, K. of Bohemia, by the Princeſs Elizabeth, daughter of K. James.

3. Rupert, ſo named in remembrance of the Emperor of this family, was born at Prague, Dec. 17, 1619, juſt preceding the battle, which was ſo fatal to the intereſts of his parents, and their family. When only fourteen years of age he went with the Prince of Orange to the ſiege of Rhineberg, and came with his eldeſt brother to England, and received the order of the Garter at the ſame time it was conferred upon him: when eighteen years of age he commanded a regiment of horſe in the wars of Germany; but in 1638, he was taken priſoner in the battle of Vlota by Count Hartzfeild, a general of the Imperialiſts, and it was three years before he could obtain his freedom. In 1642, he came over into England to fight under the royal banner; obtained the place of general of horſe: Jan. 19, 1642-3, he was made a free denizen; and the 24th of the following month was honored with the titles of Earl of Holderneſs and Duke of Cumberland; but he injured the cauſe he came to defend more by his raſhneſs, than he ſerved it by his bravery: his ſurrender of Briſtol did inexpreſſible miſchief. Upon the death of

Prince Rupert, Duke of Cumberland, &c.

* The Elector Charles Lodowic, by Maria-Louiſa, daughter of Chriſtopher Martin, Baron of Dagenfeild, his miſtreſs, or "wife by the left hand," had fourteen children, eight of whom died in their infancy. Charlotte, the eldeſt daughter, became the wife of the firſt Duke of Schomberg, killed at the battle of the Boyne; her grace died at Kenſington June 15, 1696. Frederica, another daughter, was Counteſs of Holderneſs in England; Mary, Counteſs of Dagenfeild in Germany; Æmilia-Eliz. died unmarried: the ſons who lived to be men, all became ſoldiers; none of them left iſſue. In 1606 he laments, with much paſſion, the death of one of his natural ſons, who had been educated under the care of Prince Edward; he was ſent to Paris, and it was intended for him to travel into Spain and Italy: the inconſolable father ſays "his moderation and diſcretion were beyond his years in immart eyes."

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K. Charles I. he was more fortunate in the royal part of the fleet, of which he obtained the command, and againſt a far ſuperior force, and when blocked up in the harbour of Kinſale, he, by his reſolution, broke through the ſhips of the Republic, and made good his retreat to a neutral port. He remained at the courts of Saris, Vienna, or Heidelburg, until the reſtoration, when he came over, and was received with the greateſt regard by K. Charles II., who made him a privy councellor, and gave him the command of the fleet jointly with the Duke of Albermarle, where he ſhone more than ever, uniting diſcretion to ſkill and bravery in the Dutch war. He ſpent the remainder of his days in retirement at Windſor, of which he was Governor, purſuing the ſtudies of chemiſtry and other ſciences. He was the inventor of a kind of engraving, called Metzotinto, and of a metal named from him, Prince's Metal; and of ſeveral other things, eſpecially in gunpowder and fire arms.— His manners were not calculated for the refined and delicate court of K. Charles II., and his features and perſon correſponded with his behaviour; from which cauſe he made but an indifferent figure in the gay circle that ſurrounded the throne: he is ſaid to have had ſo great a diſguſt to the licentiouſneſs of it, and to the inclination to a boundleſs luſt of arbitrary power, that he purpoſed to have eſpouſed the country intereſt, when he was taken off by death, at his houſe in Spring Gardens, Nov. 29, 1682, univerſally beloved by ſuch who knew him in private life; and it was generally thought had he lived to ſee the revolution he would have joined in it. He was buried in Weſtminſter Abbey. Prince Rupert was never married; but in 1632 it was propoſed that he ſhould eſpouſe the daughter of M. de Rohan, "great both in means and birth, and of the re-" formed religion." His highneſs left two natural children, Dudley, Bart. and Ruperta, by Margaret Hewes. To theſe and Mrs. Hewes he left all his property, except ſome few legacies. Ruperta married Scrope Emanuel Howe, Eſq., by whom ſhe had William Howe, Eſq., anceſtor of the ennobled family of that name: this lady was uncommonly plain, if the portrait of her at Hinchinbrook is a reſemblance; though what is engraved for her likeneſs in the

letters of the electoral family publiſhed by Mr. Bromley is beautiful. PART X.

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Prince Maurice

3. Maurice, born Dec. 17, 1620, came into England Sept. 1644, with his brother Rupert, and engaged with him in the royal cauſe, in which he performed very gallant actions, eſpecially at Exeter, at Dartmouth, and at Lanſdown; but as "Rupert wanted "a great deal of his phlegm," ſo he "wanted a little of his fire." He was equally unhappy in diſpleaſing his uncle K. Charles I., who refuſed even to permit him to vindicate himſelf in perſon; yet he proved true to his intereſt, and to that of Charles II., in whoſe ſervice he ſailed, with a deſign to go to the Weſt Indies, with one of thoſe ſhips that retained their allegiance, but unfortunately he was caſt away, it is ſuppoſed, in the Atlantic Ocean, in 1654.--- Prince Maurice was never married.

Prince Edward

4. Edward, born at the Hague, Oct. 5, 1625, who, in 1645, profeſſing the tenets of Rome, retired into France, where he was well received, but it gave the Queen, his mother, the moſt ſenſible grief; Charles II. gave him the order of the Garter. He died March 13, 1663, having married, in 1645, Ann, daughter and co-heir of Charles Gonzaga, Duke of Nevers in France, ſiſter to the Queen of Poland, and aunt to the Empreſs; the Princeſs died in 1684. The iſſue of this marriage was three daughters, Louiſa-Mary, born July 13, 1647, married, in 1671, to Charles-Theodore Otto, Prince of Salm, who died in 1710; Ann-Henrica-Julia, born July 23, 1648, and married, December 11, 1663, to Henry-Julius, Prince of Conde, who died March 31, 1709, and ſhe February 23, 1723: and Benedicta-Henrietta, born in 1652, married, in 1677, to John Frederic, Duke of Hanover, uncle to K. George I.; he died in 1679, ſhe in 1724 The deſcendants of theſe three ladies being all Roman Catholics, were cut off by the Parliament, in the reign of K. William, from inheriting the imperial crown of theſe realms.

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5. Lewis, born Auguſt 21, 1626, and died December 24, following.

Lewis, died an infant.

Prince Philip.

6. Philip, born at the Hague September 26, 1627: this Prince obtained a paſs to come to England, April 25, 1648, to viſit his brother, the Elector; and in May following he had leave to raiſe a thouſand foot for the ſervice of Venice: he was ſlain, December 15, 1650, at the battle of Rheteb, near St. Stephen's.

Guſtavus, died a child.

7. Guſtavus, born at the Hague January 14, 1632, and died in January, 1641: he received his baptiſmal name from the hero of Sweden.

Princeſs Eliz. Abbeſs of Hervorden.

8. Elizabeth, born December 26, 1618, became Abbeſs of the Proteſtant nunnery of Hervorden, in Germany; ſhe was one of the moſt extraordinary women that we read of in hiſtory. She correſponded with the celebrated Des Cartes, who was regarded as the Newton of his time, upon the moſt difficult and abſtruſe ſubjects. That philoſopher tells her, in the Dedication of his *Principia*, which he addreſſed to her, that ſhe was the only perſon he met with who perfectly underſtood his works. She was not only an admirer of philoſophy, but juſtly attached to poetry; Chriſtina, Q. of Sweden, who envied theſe great accompliſhments ſhe affected to poſſeſs, meanly inſulted her. She noticed the legiſlator of Pennſylvania, honored him with many conferences and letters, and did not diſlike his religious ſentiments. She died February 8, 1680.

Princeſs Louiſa Hollandina, Abbeſs of Maubiſſon.

2. Louiſa-Hollandina, born April 18, 1622, and educated at the Hague; this Princeſs was diſtinguiſhed by the fineneſs of her pencil; her paintings are alike valuable for their ſcarceneſs and excellence, and are eſteemed, by the lovers of the fine arts, on both accounts equal to the firſt maſters. At Wilton is a portrait of her by Gerard Honthorſt, the inſtructor of the electoral family; ſhe is repreſented in a ſtraw hat. Though brought up in the tenets

of the church of England by her mother, yet in 1649 ſhe forſook the Proteſtant faith for that of Rome, and died, February 11, 1709, Lady Abbeſs of Maubiſſon, at Ponthoiſe, near Paris, when ſhe had attained the age of eighty-ſix. The abruptneſs with which ſhe left a fond mother was extremely reprehenſible.

Iſſue of Frederic, K. of Bohemia, by the Princeſs Elizabeth, daughter of K. James.

10. Henrietta-Maria, born in 1626, married, in 1651, to Sigiſmond Ragotzki, Prince of Tranſylvania, but who died in the ſame year.

Princeſs Henrietta-Maria, married to Sigiſmond Ragotzki, Prince of Tranſylvania.

11. Charlotte, born December 19, 1628, and died on January 24, 1631.

Princeſs Charlotte, died a child.

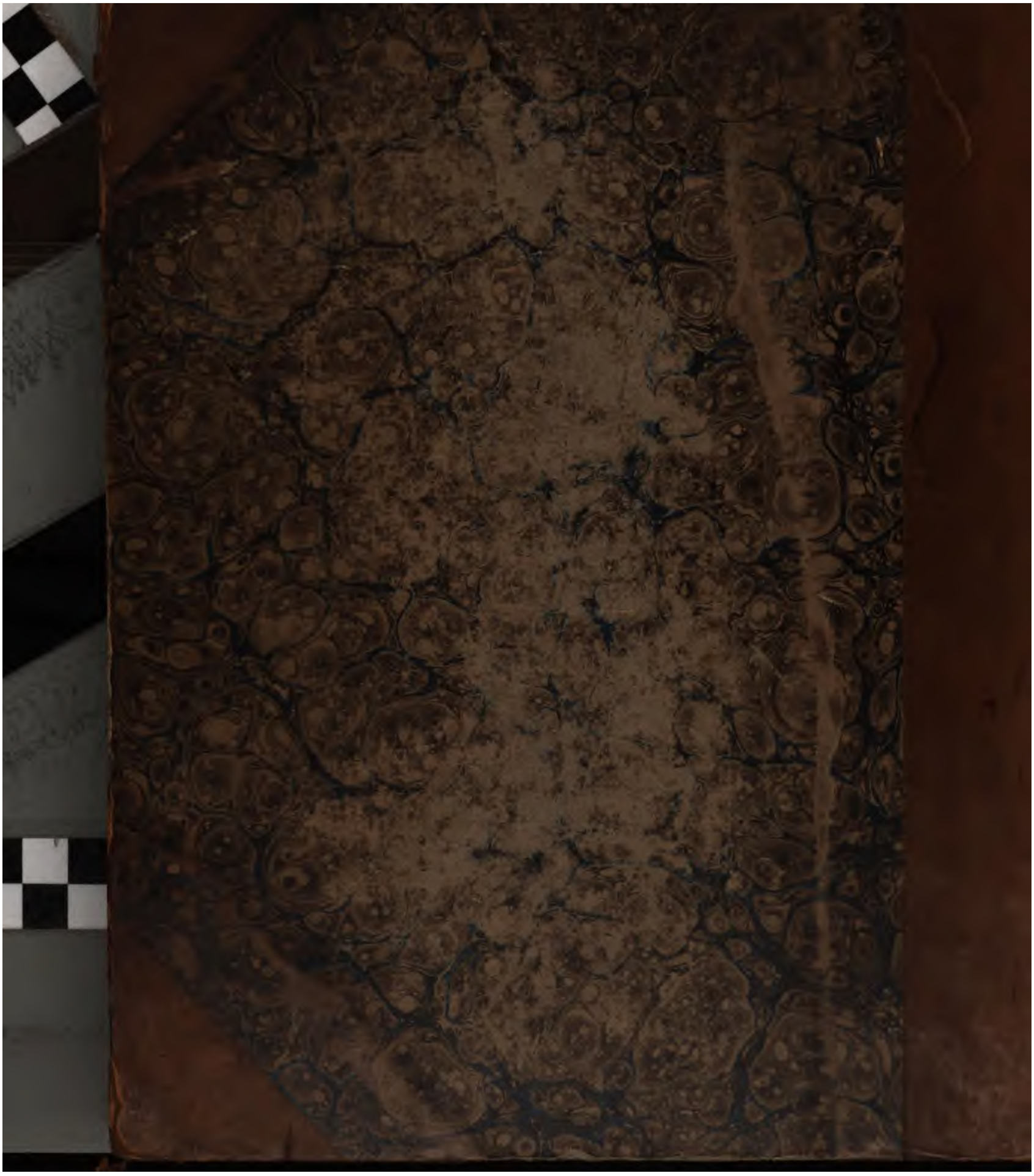
12. Sophia, the youngeſt child, born at the Hague October 13, 1630, became more illuſtrious than any of her family, as a reward for retaining her religious ſentiments. She was married, September 30, 1658, to Erneſt-Auguſtus, Duke of Hanover, in whoſe favor that principality was raiſed to a ninth electorate in 1692; he died January 23, 1698: ſhe long ſurvived, and ſaw, what at firſt ſhe would not credit, the Britiſh crown ſettled upon her and her deſcendants, in preference to ſo many princes, potentates, even monarchs, who, in point of ſtrict hereditary right, had preferable claims, but were precluded on account of their profeſſing the erroneous and bigoted tenets of the Papal ſee; ſo that now every poſſeſſor of theſe dominions muſt claim through the Princeſs Sophia. It is generally thought that Q. Ann had a particular enmity to her, not only as her heir preſumptive, in preference to the ill-fated James, her brother, but becauſe ſhe had, in her younger days, put an affront upon the Queen, by obliging George, her ſon, to leave England, to marry his firſt couſin, though he was ſent purpoſely to eſpouſe her majeſty, then only the Princeſs Ann; their mutual diſlike was heightened by the almoſt peremptory demand and abſolute denial of the Queen's receiving any part of the houſe of Hanover at her court; and, it is ſuppoſed, that the ſtrong terms her majeſty uſed in a letter ſhe wrote to the Princeſs, complaining

Princeſs Sophia, married to Erneſt Auguſtus, Duke of Hanover.

PART X. Iſſue of Frederic, K. of Bohemia, by the Princeſs Elizabeth, daughter of K. James.

of her conduct, haſtened her death, which happened ſuddenly, as ſhe was walking in the gardens of Hawrenhauſen, June 8, 1714, when in the eighty-fourth year of her age, and only fifty-three days previous to Q. Ann's death, whom ſhe would have ſucceeded, had ſhe ſurvived. This illuſtrious lady "not only excelled in an "elegant taſte for literature and the arts, but was miſtreſs of every "qualification requiſite to adorn a crown;" and it was truly ſaid of this Princeſs, and her ſiſters, Elizabeth and Louiſa, "that the "firſt was the moſt learned, the ſecond the greateſt artiſt, and the "third the moſt accompliſhed lady in Europe." She had many children, but none left iſſue, except her eldeſt ſon George, and her daughter, Sophia-Charlotte, Q. of Pruſſia: the former, upon the death of Q. Ann, became King of Great Britain, and was ſucceeded by his ſon, K. George II. and he by his grandſon, his preſent moſt gracious majeſty—and may he long reign over a loyal and dutiful, a rich and happy people; and may the illuſtrious houſe of Brunſwic, his poſterity, ever continue to receive and give equal bleſſings.

FINIS.

POSTSCRIPT.

The author fears he has been too favorable to the character of Mary, K. James II.'s Queen, for Leland, in his Itinerary, ſays, "There was one of the Grays of Northumberlande, a man of "greate repute in the tyme of Edwarde IV. that was ſuſpect with "the Quene of Scottes of adulterie; whereupon he beying accuſid "of a gentilman of Scotteland, cam with a band, as it is ſaide, of "a 1000 men of Edinborow, and there caſte down his glove to "fight in the liſtes with his accuſer: but he departid withoute "fighteing; yet was it ſuppoſid, that Gray was not accuſid therof "withoute a cawſe."